MOVEMENT May-August 1973
(*Labor Challenge*, Correspondence & Documents)
League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere/ YS-LJS

(Voir aussi: W8- Affiches et documents LSO-LJS 1970-1973)
'*Article on file'* at National Archives

1973

1973-05May1	Celebrate May Day --Tom Kerry, SWP -- 334 Queen St. West
1973-05May30	Handwritten letter to Zane: missing your visit at the camp
1973-05May7-lc78	Québécois workers unite in massive May Day march
**1973-May-lc78*	*Editorial: US escalates war, Canada covers up*
1973-05May-lc78-2	*(Y-R)* Tasks before socialists in NDP (federal convention)
1973-05May-lc78-3a	*(Y-R)* Report of LSA/LSO convention – Canadian revolutionists
1973-05May-lc78-3b	*(Y-R)* Subhead-- Against Canadian nationalism
1973-05May-lc78-3c	Subhead – Tendencies formed
1973-05May-lc78-3d	(conclusion) – International greetings
1973-05May-lc78-4a	New radicalization, NDP's role analyzed
1973-05May-lc78-5a	Chart strategy for feminist struggle
1973-05May-lc78-6	*(Y-R)* Canadian nationalism vital to capitalist rule
1973-05May-lc78-7a	Québécois nationalism deepens class struggle (Alain Beiner)
1973-05May-lc78-8	Teachers fight education cutbacks
*1973-May-lc78	French youth upsurge continues (ICP interview, on file)
*1973-May-lc78	May Day Manifesto of the F.I. -workers, youth & women (file)
1973-05May28-lc79	Teachers mobilize against cutbacks
1973-05May-lc79-1	Toronto teachers march to protest
1973-05May-lc79-1	'Teachers need unions, bargaining power'

**1973-May-lc79*	*Teachers in front ranks of struggle against antilabor drive (file)*
1973-05May-lc79-2	Crisis in CEGEPs (Quebec colleges) – teachers' occupation
1973-05May-lc79-3	Abortion fight heats up – Demo--'If Trudeau was pregnant....'
1973-05May-lc79-3b	Edmonton Women's Centre excludes YS – Wounded Knee
1973-05May-lc79-4	Edit: Quebec three (union leaders) freed—Israel a trap for Jews
**1973-May-lc79*	*Labor radicalization at Montreal (union) conventions (on file)*
1973-05May-lc79-5	Mass action needed to defend labor – 'The Strikebreakers'
1973-05May-lc79-5	Dare (bakery) workers strike
1973-05May-lc79-6	For a class struggle strategy in NDP – Ontario Left Caucus
1973-05May-lc79-a	*Strategy for women's liberation by Liz Angus*
1973-05May-lc79-8	*Right wing prepares for civil war ADD FOR MIA-B1*
1973-05May-lc79-8	*Fascist danger in Chile*
**1973-May-lc79*	*Women's liberation (Old Mole – Abortion reformist?) (file)*
**1973-May-lc79*	*Fascist danger in Chili – civil war (Hugo Blanco – on file)*
1973-06June00	Document- "After the Spring Convention, 1973" (RD notes)
1973-06June16	Camp Poundmaker "Lenin & National Oppression"
1973-06June19	Letter to Metro Toronto Library re *Workers Voice* microfilm
**1973- June*	*Lenin vs. Germain –P. Camejo on errors of the FI guerrilla strategy (file)*
1973-06Jun11-lc80	*(Y-R)* Manitoba NDP must fight for socialism
1973-06Jun-lc80-1	Women's rights issue in Manitoba vote
1973-06Jun-lc80-2	Left Caucus conference
1973-06Jun-lc80-3	Waffle weights split from Saskatchewan NDP
1973-06Jun-lc80-4	Strike prods BC NDP to repeal antilabor law

**1973-Jun-lc80*	*Quebec-- rise of class struggles – LSO on Spring '72 (file)*
1973-06Jun-lc80-5	Franco-Ontarians unite in struggle for French school
*1973-Jun-lc80	Fight for abortion rights in France – 10,000 in Grenoble (file)
1973-06Jun-lc80-6	Gays map cross-country actions (Ottawa conference)
**1973-Jun-lc80*	*Canada retreats from Viet role, but still complicit*
**1973-Jun-lc80*	*Churchill River plan violates native rights (on file)*
**1973-Jun-lc80*	*Argentina Left and the Campora government (Militant) (file)*
1973-06Jun-lc80-7	Trotskyist stance on terrorism (assassination in Argentina)
*1973-Jun-lc80	Watergate –Nixon's alibi– (US Militant –file)
1973-06June25-	Conservatives, Liberals gang up vs. Manitoba NDP
1973-06June-lc81-2	Rally demands candidates defend right to abortion
**1973-June-lc81*	*Nationalize all Manitoba mining – Kierans study (on file)*
**1973-June-lc81*	*Behind the Nixon-Brezhnev summit (Vietnam War)*
**1973-June-lc81*	*Meaning of the detente (LSA/LSO analysis)*
1973-06June-lc81-3	Ontario French rally behind teachers – LC biggest (fund) drive!
**1973-June-lc81*	*Peronists assume office (Argentina) frees prisoners (file)*
**1973-June-lc81*	*25 years after founding of Israeli state (US-ICP on file)*
1973-06June-lc81-	Dr. Morgentaler trial – Abortion Tribunal – Freedom of press
**1973-July00*	*LSA-LSO-IDB- Germain's (Mandel's) errors on the national question*
**1973-July-7*	*LSA IDB #4 Thesis on building the revolutionary party in Canad-- M. Mill; Declaration of tendency by Mill, Paul, Rouseau & Peillard; Five years of struggle against liquidationism, a history – A.Young*
**1973-Sept-*	*LSA IDB#10 Which way for Native liberation by J. Choy-Hee,*

	Edmonton; Proposals towards building our press – Frost & Katz,St.Catharines; Revolutionary strategy and the labor party – The Minority; For a single Quebec organization (text of the Minority) L. Peillard
1973-07July19a	RD note to self re: his insistence he go off the payroll
1973-07July97	(Undated) Camp Poundmaker; open long August weekend
1973-07July98	Horowitz on Germain's errors on national question *(RD's notes)*
1973-07July9-lc82	Delegates must fight for socialist policies
1973-07July-lc82-2	Manitoba NDP gains clear majority – Bigot Borowski loses
1973-07July-lc82-3a	Women plan abortion tribunal – Defend Dr. Morgentaler!
1973-07July-lc82-3b	Photo – Montreal women say 'Morgentaler not guilty'
1973-07July-lc82-3c	300 Québécois defy abortion ban
1973-07July-lc82-3d	Sisterhood is powerful – US leader speaks at Toronto meeting
1973-07July-lc82-4	Key to women's rights-- independent action
1973-07July-lc82-5	Franco-Ontarian speaker at LSA Forum; Black activist appeal r
**1973-July-lc82*	*34 killed as Peron returns – occupations sweep Argentina (file)*
**1973-July-lc82*	*Chile coup fails – miners end strike (on file)*
**1973-July-lc82*	*LSA deplores split in Trotskyist ranks – ultraleft RMG*
**1973-July-lc82*	*Review Trotsky book – How fascism took power (on file)*
**1973-July-lc82*	*France bans Trotskyists – Canadian protests (on file)*
1973-7July23-lc83	Canada's hand in Vietnam genocide
1973-7July-lc83-2a	Lift the ban on French Trotskysts – Paris rally defends LC
1973-7July-lc83-2b	International protests against ban (of Trotskyist LC in France)
**1973-July-lc83*	*International protests against ban (of Ligue Communiste) (file)*
**19733July-lc83*	*Cambodian rebels advance – Nixon seeks Peking aid*

**19733July-lc83*	*(PM) Pearson approved N. Vietnam bombing*
1973-7July-lc83-3a	The real criminal is the law – BC NDP MLA Grace McInnis
1973-7July-lc83-3b	Step up Morgentaler defense against Quebec prosecution
1973-7July-lc83-4	Alberta women reply to attacks (Edmonton)
1973-7July-lc83-5a	Quebec teachers' convention – Women press demands
1973-7July-lc83-6	Edmonton YS fights ban (evicted from student union office)
1973-7July-lc83-7	Editorial-- Canadian unions?
*1973-July-lc83	(Y-R) LSA/LSO "Revolutionists and the NDP"
1973-7July-lc83-8r	Douglas addressing anti-war rally – Waffle energy protest
1973-08Aug6-lc84-	**F**eminism shakes up NDP convention
1973-08Aug-lc84-2a	Caucus campaigns for women's rights
1973-08Aug-lc84-2c	Equal pay won in BC Strike
1973-08Aug-lc84-3	Pledge defense for abortion law victim
1973-08Aug-lc84-4	Left demands public ownership
1973-08Aug-lc84-5	***(Y-R)*** 'Delegates for socialist policies'
1973-08Aug-lc84-6	Amendments restrict internal democracy
1973-08Aug-lc84-7	Selling the socialist press
1973-08Aug-lc84-8	Vancouver students press bill of rights
1973-08Aug-lc84-9	Editorials-- Who killed Laporte ('FLQ crisis') – Free Lemieux!
**1973-Aug-lc84*	*Canada served imperialism – Troops leave Vietnam*
**1973-Aug-lc84*	*Nixon's secret Cambodian war*
**1973-Aug-lc84*	*Canada's real immigration policy – racism, discrimination (file)*
**1973-Aug-lc84*	*French Trotskyists continue fight for legality – protests (file)*

*1973-Aug-lc84 *Canadian imperialism in southern Africa (on file)*

*1973-Aug-lc84 *How Peronism diverts Argentine workers (on file)*

*1973-Aug-lc84 *Campaign in defence of Brazilian political prisoners (file)*

Celebrate May Day

A day of international working-class solidarity

Hear Tom Kerry

Participant in 1930's labor upsurge;
leader of Socialist Workers Party, U.S.A.

Admission:
$2.00
Music. refreshments

Wed. May 1
7:30 p.m.
334 Queen St. W.

Sponsored by League for Socialist Action and Young Socialists
363-9618

Women of the Paris Commune, 1871

Thursday
May 30/73
Poundmaker
396 5386

Dear Zane:

When the hell are you dropping out here?
I recognize that the weather has not been attractive to all those who think that the sunny phase of weather is the only attractive one. This morning there is a fine mist across the fields — they are wet from last night's rain which fell unnoticed by me — everything is a rich green so that along with less attractive forms of life our Joo trees are growing and the ones that have just transplanted are getting a good chance

As for the unattractive forms — we have conquered them with our habitations — Poundmaker Lodge is of first rate — bug spray and planned programs. I am tossing over in my mind whether to light a fire in the fire place. If you were here the decision would have been made and everything would long have been cheery.

affectionately
Ross

"As you know I try to be at the above phone from 6 until about 6:30. I phoned your number but either got no answer or upon the investigation of your landlady a report that you weren't in.

Report on LSA/LSO convention

Special feature pages 5-8

labor Challenge

MAY 7, 1973
Vol. 4, No. 8 [78]
25 CENTS

Quebecois workers unite in massive May Day march

by ALAIN BEINER and PHIL COURNEYEUR

MONTREAL, May 2 — Yesterday evening more than 30,000 workers and students took to the streets to demand the immediate and unconditional liberation of Quebec's jailed trade union leaders and to mobilize opposition to Bill 89 — the notorious strikebreaking law which the Bourassa Liberal government threatens to bring in next fall.

The huge May Day demonstration expressed solidarity with the 100,000 construction workers now in negotiations and with the CEGEP (community college) teachers threatened with declassification and cutbacks.

In the old capital of Quebec, some 3,000 workers and students demonstrated at the same time as their brothers and sisters in Montreal and in other smaller Quebec towns.

The Montreal demonstration got underway at Viger Square following the spirited arrival of some 2,000 students who had formed their own contingent earlier. Buses brought late arriving workers from Montreal's south shore and from other smaller centres — such as Sorel's shipyard workers.

The demonstration was peaceful — order being assured both by the clear political focus of the action and the several hundred unionists who formed the marshalling squad. The Montreal cops, long known as the main source of violent provocations in Quebec demonstrations, attempted to stay out of sight.

At Parc Lafontaine demonstrators heard speeches by union leaders Michel Chartrand and Norbert Rodrique of the Confederation des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN), Fernand Daoust of the Federation des Travailleurs du Quebec (FTQ), and Andre Therrien of the Centrale de L'Enseignement du Quebec (CEQ-Quebec Teachers). From Parc Lafontaine the demonstrators headed to a mass rally called by the PQ and to the Palais du Commerce where the union common front held a festival-dance.

The size of the May Day demonstration clearly surprised many of the union leaders themselves. La Presse carried a banner headline saying that "The May 1 March Surpassed All the Hopes of its Organizers". Asked beforehand in a press survey what turnout would constitute a success, most observers, from unionists to press reporters suggested between five and ten thousand.

Estimates of the turnout vary. Montreal police say 10,000; the FTQ says from 20 to 25,000; the CSN estimates the crowd at 35,000, while the newspaper La Presse says 18,000. What is significant is that the action was so big, especially in view of the factors which militated against it. The weather was bad; May 1 is moving day in Montreal whenmany tens of

photo from Quebec-Presse

Estimates of size of Montreal's May Day demonstration for release of jailed labor leaders and defeat of anti-labor laws range up to 35,000.

→p.2

p. 2

thousands change apartments; it was also the night of a Stanley Cup finals hockey game at the Montreal Forum — few could fail to note that, in its own way, the May 1 demonstration made history as more workers demonstrated in the streets than went that night to the Montreal Forum.

The slogans of the demonstration — for immediate and unconditional release of the three jailed leaders; against Bill 89; and union solidarity slogans were complemented by nationalist chants — Le Quebec aux Quebecois, Quebecois dans la rue (Quebec for the Quebecois; Quebecois in the streets) and others.

The Montreal demonstration was officially organized by the Comite Regional Intersyndical de Montreal (the Regional inter-union committee of Montreal), which included the Montreal Central Council of the CSN; the Montreal Labor Central Council of the FTQ; the Teachers Alliance of Montreal and several other teachers (CEQ) units. This united action took the union movement beyond the recent period of inter-union raiding and rivalries that followed the common front strike wave last spring.

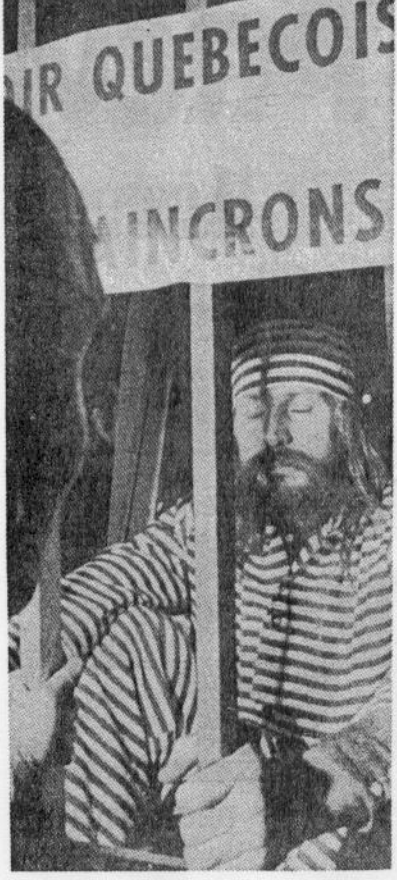
More than 75 organizations and political groups participated in the demonstration including the NPD-Quebec, the Parti Quebecois, the Mouvement National des Quebecois (Saint-Jean-Baptiste), the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, etc.

The Trotskyists of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (LSO) and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (LJS) marched under banners demanding the freeing of the trade union leaders as well as the building of a labor party by the trade unions. The LSO proclaimed the solidarity of the Fourth International (to which it is affiliated) with the Quebec workers struggle. They sold more than 500 copies of the socialist and independentist newspaper Liberation.

While many of the left groups were present at the demonstration, most carried banners and placards somewhat unrelated to the burning tasks facing Quebec workers and the labor movement. The Quebec NDP simply carried a banner declaring its presence. The Communist Party banner called for "worker-peasant" solidarity. The various Maoist sects carried red flags and chanted anti-fascist slogans. The Groupe Marxiste Revolutionnaire (GMR) a small split-off from the Quebec Trotskyist movement, carried a banner proclaiming that the only solution was revolution.

The Parti Quebecois, in a bold opportunist gesture to the Quebec working class movement,

See page 8



'We will win'

Continued from page 1 identified itself with the May Day celebration and with its main demands. While proclaiming their belief in "law and order" PQ leaders spoke in solidarity with the jailed leaders and presented themselves as defenders of "social peace." They condemned the Bourassa government for conducting "class war" against the unions — "a campaign of harassment and repression."

Student participation in the great May Day march came shortly after important struggles against fee increases. The May 1 demonstration marked a further identification of students with the workers struggles. The decision to enter the May Day action with separate student contingent reflected as well a growing awareness by student activists of the political importance of their own struggles as students within the overall class struggle. Worker-student solidarity became a much pronounced theme on the May Day demonstration itself.

The massive May Day demonstration was a first volley in the launching of a trade union counter-offensive against Bourassa's anti-labor drive. What is clear from the demonstration is the combativity, the willingness to struggle by the ranks of working people in Quebec.

→p. 3

labor Challenge #78

Free jailed labor leaders, May Day demand

p. 3

If the workers became quiet after May, the responsibility for their passivity rests at the feet of the trade union officialdom which not only refrained from trying to mobilize the ranks but also blocked such moves in the recent past.

The May Day demonstration shows the way forward for Quebec labor. The unity forged in the streets must not be broken; it must be steeled again through the unification of the Quebec trade union federations around a program of struggle. The common fronts should be extended across the board. The fighting capacity of the ranks must be drawn into the preparation of a new counter-offensive against Bourassa — through the convening of an urgent trade union convention of delegates representing all union locals and delegates representing working class political organizations. Such a representative body of the Quebec working class could map out an effective strategy to defeat Bill 89; to free all the political and union prisoners; to roll back Bourassa's anti-labor offensive; to assert the political independence of the Quebec labor movement, through the launching of an independent labor party.

Contrary to the PQ's appeal for "social peace" Quebec workers must know that their struggle is a class struggle — a struggle against the bosses and their government; against the bosses and their courts; against the bosses and their political fronts, the capitalist parties. May 1, 1973 shows the way.

Wildcat strikes, rallies across Quebec on May 1st

More than 4,000 workers across Quebec hit the bricks on May Day in wildcat strikes, both to demonstrate their solidarity and to press to the fore various grievances. The biggest May Day wildcat took place at Marine Industries in Sorel. Some 2700 production and office workers failed to return to work after lunch, protesting boss stalling in their current negotiations. Some 400 other workers in Sorel went out on May Day — nurses and production workers at Crucible Steel. Sorel workers held an afternoon demonstration at the courthouse.

In Montreal the most important work stoppage occurred at the Gaz Metropolitain Company. While essential services were maintained, some 650 workers failed to report to work in the morning, protesting the suspension of one of their union leaders by the company. Elsewhere in Montreal, the workers at the Ogilvy Flour Mills took the afternoon off. The hospital workers at Riviere-des-Prairies refused to pay for their lunches in the cafeteria as a declaration of their "participation in the general struggle."

Work stoppages occured in other centres including two factories in Saint-Jerome. The Montreal daily La Presse reports "countless" numbers of teach-ins and political assemblies taking place in schools, community colleges, CEGEPs and campuses on May 1.

labor Challenge #18 May 1973

Federal convention July 20-23

Tasks before socialists in NDP

by JOHN STEELE

The 1973 federal convention of the NDP will take place July 20-23 in Vancouver. Preparations are underway in NDP constituency organizations and affiliated union locals across the country. A June 20 cutoff date has been established for submission of resolutions.

The federal NDP leadership sees the convention as an opportunity to gear the party for a possible federal election. With this in mind, the leadership will attempt to limit discussion to what it regards as safe election issues: energy and resources; urban affairs and housing; unemployment and a few others. They would prefer to ignore issues such as women's liberation, the Quebecois national struggle, antilabor legislation and foreign policy, which polarized the 1971 federal convention.

In order to bring these issues to the floor, socialists are faced with the task of uniting and organizing their forces from across the country, to fight for class struggle policies against the procapitalist reformist policies of the right wing social democratic leadership of the NDP.

At the 1971 federal NDP convention, the Waffle left wing, of mass proportions and organized from coast to coast, was able to carry a powerful struggle for socialist policies in a number of areas. At that convention the Waffle leadership candidate, Jim Laxer, had the support of a third of the delegates against the present party leader, David Lewis.

Since that time, the left has been shattered and scattered. The Lewis witchhunt against the Waffle in the Ontario NDP in the summer of 1972 led to the departure from the NDP of decisive layers of the Waffle leadership and Waffle activists.

As a result, there is now no unified socialist opposition in the NDP to the right wing leadership except for the Left Caucus in the Ontario NDP which developed in opposition to the split of the Waffle from the NDP.

However, many of the conditions that helped produce the mass left wing between 1969 and 1972 remain.

Under the impact of world events, the general radicaliztion of youth continues. The reflection in the NDP of the radicalization of women particularly shows this.

The worsening economic perspectives for Canadian capitalism place profound pressures on the NDP through its working class supporters and trade union base.

Thousands of New Democrats are now experiencing, first hand, the meaning of the NDP's reformist policies through the Manitoba, Saskatchewan and B.C. NDP governments, as well as through the role of the NDP federal caucus in parliament. In British Columbia, New Democrats have organized a rank and file labor committee to force the government to repeal the union busting Bill 33 previously legislated by the Socreds. Women across the province have moved in behind the B.C. NDP women's rights committee to demand that the NDP government implement the NDP policy on women's rights.

While the present ferment among the B.C. NDP membership is somewhat exceptional, the province-wide struggle to defend democracy in the Ontario NDP during the Waffle purge of 1972 has not been forgotten. At the Ontario NDP convention last December, caucuses of trade union militants, women and Franco-Ontariens emerged around their own demands in collaboration with the Left Caucus, which received substantial support for its anticapitalist positions.

Despite the varied conditions from one area of the NDP to another, the burning need for a broad socialist opposition to the reformist leadership remains. The remaining weeks before the federal convention present socialists with an opportunity to find the issues around which to unite NDP members and affiliated trade unionists in a struggle for class struggle socialist policies.

Such an attempt was recently made by the Left Caucus in the Ontario NDP with the publication of the first issue of the Left Caucus Newsletter. The Newsletter is designed to help build a pre-federal convention conference of the Ontario Left Caucus, to be held at the end of May.

The Newsletter is a welcome and important initiative. However, the first issue has some serious short-

→ P2

comings which must be corrected if the job of uniting socialist forces within the NDP around the federal convention is to meet with any success.

The main weakness is expressed in the lead editorial "Towards socialism or liberalism". Little more is offered to NDP members than sharp denunciations of the bureaucratic and reformist character of the NDP leadership. The Newsletter editors state: "We hope . . . to attempt to build a left opposition to the bureaucratic apparatus which currently controls the party . . . The interests of the bureaucrats are not the interests of the rank and file of the NDP . . They are removed from the everyday concerns of the ordinary party member . . . They are for the most part either middle-class professionals who never knew these hardships or well-paid trade union bosses who long ago left these behind."

A good deal of the Newsletter is taken up with this descriptive and denunciatory kind of material which, while containing many truths, misses the mark. If a broad socialist opposition is to be built, riding and union militants need the tools to do it — class struggle demands around which to organize, and information about what left forces are doing in other parts of the NDP.

A general analysis of the nature of the NDP leadership and the role of social democracy in the class struggle can be very instructive. But if it is to be the basis on which left forces are to be united, as the overall character of the first issue of the Newsletter suggests, it is an approach that is incorrect.

Between now and the federal convention, socialists in the NDP must attempt to pull together a broad coalition of forces. By imposing a general analysis on these forces, as the Newsletter tends to do, the forces that can work together around common areas of agreement are narrowed. This is a sectarian approach which will not help in breaking revolutionary socialists out of their isolation in the NDP. Nor will it help NDP militants learn through their own experiences in the fight against the leadership.

This can only be done by picking up the important issues before the party: unemployment, inflation, women's liberation, Quebec, housing, Canadian intervention in Indochina, resources sellouts, cutbacks in social services and antilabor legislation — and advancing class struggle solutions to these problems around which unity of socialist forces in the NDP can be forged.

This was the perspective adopted by the Left Caucus in the Summer of 1972 when it was formed around the "stay and fight" perspective.

A serious "stay and fight" perspective in the coming weeks means doing what is necessary to reach out to rank and file New Democrats and trade unionists around important class issues in order to pose in action the need to build a mass class struggle opposition to the reformist leadership.

Canadian revolutionists meet

labor Challenge
#18 May 1973

by DICK FIDLER

The convention of the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere met in Toronto over Easter weekend, April 20-23. It was the largest policy convention in the history of the Canadian Trotskyist movement. Of the more than 300 persons who registered, 53 were delegates elected from 12 branches in cities from Vancouver to Montreal, and 34 were alternate delegates. In addition, 29 members of the outgoing Central Committee attended as consultative delegates.

There were over 50 guests and observers from other countries.

The LSA/ LSO is the Canadian section of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.

The League is working to assemble the cadres of the future mass revolutionary party that alone can lead the struggles of the Canadian working class to victory through the winning of state power and the socialist transformation of society on an international scale. Members of the League are active in all aspects of the class struggle in Canada, playing a leading role in the women's liberation movement, the anti-war movement, student struggles, building the left wing of the New Democratic Party and class struggle caucuses of militants in the trade unions, intervening in the Quebecois nationalist movement, etc. Their concerns were reflected in the colorful banners that adorned the convention hall in the King Edward Sheraton Hotel: "U.S. Out of Southeast Asia," "Pour Un Quebec Independant et Socialiste," "Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose," "Defend Latin-American Political Prisoners" and "Vive la Quatrieme Internationale."

The credentials committee reported that 19 delegates were active in the NDP, 13 in women's liberation (almost 40 percent of the delegates were women), 10 were active mainly on campus, nine in antiwar work, five (not including teachers) in trade union work. Sixteen delegates were also members of the Young Socialists / Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, which is in political solidarity with the LSA/ LSO.

While discussing these areas of the League's work, and setting plans to expand its intervention in them, this convention focussed on defining and clarifying the position of the Canadian Trotskyist movement on a number of important questions, including the current internal discussion in the Fourth International, and an assessment of the nature of the current radicalization and the challenges it poses for Canadian revolutionists.

On many key questions, minority views in opposition to those of the majority of the leadership were expressed.

DEMOCRATIC DISCUSSION

The convention was preceded by the longest, most thoroughly documented discussion period in the history of the Canadian section. In the space of 11 months, some 58 editions of the English-language Internal Discussion Bulleting were published, containing 91 literary contributions — for a total of 1,665 pages of typewritten material and approximately 675,000 words. Of this, about half was comprised of minority views in opposition to the line resolutions submitted by the Political Committee (PC). Organized minorities fully exercised their rights to tour party branches to present their views to the membership.

In addition, sixteen editions of the French-language internal bulletin were published, with contributions totaling some 160,000 words.

A sophisticated electronic system of simultaneous translation ensured that all convention proceedings were conducted in both languages.

The convention opened with a report on the world Trotskyist movement, presented by Art Young, organizational secretary, for the Political Committee. He reported on the progress of the current discussions within the Fourth International preparatory to the Fourth World Congress since Reunification. Pointing to the work of the national sections in a number of countries, the reported mentioned in particular the intervention of the Ligue Communiste in the recent student upsurge in France. He hailed the breakthrough in Argentina of the Trotskyist Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST — Socialist Workers party). Illegal and underground only two years ago, the cadres of the present PST have used their intervention in the recent national elections under the Lanusse military dictatorship to project a revolutionary class struggle program, and to register an impressive increase in the party's membership, organization, and influence in the Argentine working class.

DETENTE ANALYZED

The Political Report, presented by Dick Fidler for the Political Committee, began with a survey of the international conjuncture. The report pointed to a turn in the world political situation marked by Nixon's visits to Moscow and Peking, the resulting "detente" between imperialism and the workers states, and the success of this combination of imperialists and Stalinist bureaucrats in forcing the Vietnamese revolution to yield major concessions in its liberation struggle.

Not the least of these concessions is the provision in the Accords for a supervisory force with Canadian participation to oversee the ceasefire, a clear violation of the Vietnamese peoples' right of self-determination. The convention reaffirmed the commitment of anadian Trotskyists to campaign for an immediate end to imperialist intervention in Southeast Asia, for withdrawal of Canadian forces and an end to Canada's complicity in the war.

"Imperialism has gained a breathing space" with the detente, the report noted. But while serious setbacks have been experienced in some sectors, particularly the colonial revolution, there have been advances elsewhere.

"These developments belie any schema of general reversal of the underlying trends of the past decade, one of general radicalization and ferment. There are elements of profound instability in the present situation, not least the continuing dilemma of U.S. and world imperialism in Southeast Asia, and — most significant — the continued thrust forward and deepening of the class struggle in the main imperialist centers."

The detente, the resulting easing of the atmosphere of world political crisis focussed for years on the Vietnam war, has produced a certain downturn in mass mobilizations in the student sector, reinforcing tendencies toward both opportunism and ultraleftism.

"What we are witnessing today," states the resolution adopted by the delegates, "is the reaffirmation of the main historical contradiction of our epoch, the crisis of revolutionary leadership" — manifested in the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism, of both Mao and Brezhnev varieties (e.g. Indochina, Indian subcontinent), the bankruptcy of Guevarism and the guerrilla war strategy (Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay), the continuing trend of the social-democratic and labor-reformist leaderships in the imperialist countries toward integration into the apparatus of the bourgeois state through parliamentary and governmental experience.

→2

labor Challenge

#48

photo by Macinnis

P. 2

CONGRES 1973 CONVENTION
League for Socialist Action
Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière

Special Feature

The appearance of a "new vanguard layer of young radicals and revolutionary-minded youth, the advanced elements emerging from the developing social struggles," poses unique and unprecedented opportunities for the construction of mass revolutionary parties. The main challenge before the cadres of the Fourth International is to win and assimilate these youth, and train them in the method and strategy of the Transitional Program.

GROWING CLASS STRUGGLE

The report pointed to the increasing difficulties facing Canadian capitalism in a world characterized by heightened inter-imperialist rivalry. Canada is one of the largest imperialist powers without guaranteed access to foreign markets through membership in a common market structure. Its "special relationship" with U.S. capitalism — the result of the continental market and the high degree of interpenetration of capital between the two countries — is being undermined by growing U.S. protectionism. Whether it moves toward closer "integration" in the American market, or toward attempts to diversify foreign trade and investment, the Canadian bourgeoisie must step up the competitive capacity of Canadian manufacturing industries, that is, increase the rate of exploitation of Canadian workers. A general increase in the tempo and depth of the class struggle can be anticipated in the next period.

The main part of the political report analyzed the nature of the new radicalization of recent years, and how revolutionists can intervene in the mass movements to develop them along the road of anticapitalist struggle. (See separate article, this issue.)

AGAINST CANADIAN NATIONALISM

A major discussion has taken place in the League in recent months over the development of the mass nationalist sentiment in English Canada, much of it directed against the growing weight and influence of U.S. capital in the Canadian economy.

Most political tendencies in the left have attempted to identify with this sentiment, and even base their politics on it, in the belief that Canadian nationalism is an essentially progressive force. The Communist party has long made "Canadian independence" its vocation. The New Democratic Party has increasingly campaigned in defense of Canadian sovereignty. The NDP's left wing "Waffle" grouping split in Ontario last year; a large section, holding that the NDP's nationalism was insufficient, moved out of the party to set up a "Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada," convinced that a Canadian "independentist" movement would bring socialism quicker than any other strategy. Other groupings, such as the Maoist Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) and Canadian Liberation Movement, have seen Canadian nationalism as central to their politics.

This was the most lively debate of the league's pre-convention period. No fewer than 28 written contributions on this theme were reproduced and circulated in English and French to members across the country. Debates on the topic were organized in all the branches, and representatives of the two main contending positions toured LSA/LSO branches from Montreal to Vancouver to defend their views.

The convention adopted by a vote of 39 to 5 (with 8 abstentions) the PC report presented by John Riddell, LSA/LSO executive secretary, and the resolution it was based on, "Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism."

This resolution denied that Canada has become a colony of U.S. imperialism, or that its existence as an independent capitalist state has been ended through assimilation into the USA. It reaffirmed Canada's character as an imperialist country, ruled by the Canadian bourgeoisie.

As for Canadian nationalism — including support for Canadian independence, or for the "freeing" of Canada from "U.S. domination" — the resolution rejected any concept that this sentiment could be viewed as progressive, or as having an anti-capitalist dynamic.

In Quebec, nationalist consciousness has served to fuel the struggle against national oppression. But English Canada, far from being an oppressed nation like Quebec, is an imperialist power, and the oppressor of Quebec. Nationalism in English Canada is fundamentally an instrument of bourgeois rule, promoting class collaboration and the unity of the Canadian state.

The resolution recognized the existence of widespread nationalist conceptions among Canadian workers. Protests against the

See page 10

73

labor Challenge #18

LSA/LSO convention

p.3 - LC page 10

operations of capitalism, for example against a plant closure by a U.S. corporation, often take a nationalist form. The task of revolutionists is not to identify with this distorted nationalist form. They must advance a program linking with the real class issues at stake, and leading forward to anti-capitalist conclusions, while combatting nationalist illusions.

"Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism" also evaluated the previous resolution of the LSA-LSO on this topic, "Canada-U.S. Relations," adopted by the 1968 convention. A first approximation in the analysis of a new and complex phenomenon, the 1968 resolution restated the imperialist character of the Canadian ruling class, its control of the Canadian state, and the reactionary character of Canadian nationalism.

It proved in error, however, in a central respect. It identified anti-U.S. feeling in Canada as an "anti-imperialist sentiment" of a progressive character. Experience showed this concept to be ambiguous and misleading, and that anti-U.S. sentiment contained an increasing element of Canadian nationalist patriotism.

A minority tendency that was formed primarily around this question of Canadian nationalism, advanced the view that there was a "new nationalism" with an essentially anticapitalist thrust — a unique phenomenon based on popular reaction against the "domination" of important sectors of the Canadian economy by U.S. capital. This tendency's views were rejected by the delegates in a vote of 5 for, 48 against, 0 abstentions.

Other key debates were those on the Quebec national liberation struggle and women's liberation, both major areas of intervention for the Trotskyist movement. (See articles, this issue)

The Quebec report noted that in the summer of 1972, a grouping led by Michel Mill split from the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere and the Fourth International. They have since set themselves up as the Groupe Marxiste Revolutionnaire (GMR — Revolutionary Marxist Group). Several Quebec delegates noted that in recent labor and student struggles, the GMR had tail-ended the bureaucratic and conservative elements in the trade union and student leadership. In a united front committee to defend the jailed labor leaders, GMR leaders had opposed the proposal for a May Day mass trade union demonstration, claiming it was "premature." In the recent student strike at the Universite du Quebec a Montreal, the GMR had argued for a return to classes against the proposals of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes representative in the strike leadership to continue the strike.

TENDENCIES FORMED

All reports were adopted by a large majority of at least 75 percent of the delegates.

The convention was characterized by the fullest democracy in its procedures.

In addition to the United Tendency, which organized around the question of Canadian nationalism, with just under 10 percent of delegate support, there was another minority grouping, the Revolutionary Communist Tendency (RCT), supported by eight delegates. (Delegates are chosen by proportional representation in the branches.) Organized on a platform that represented a wide range of differences with the PC majority, the RCT presented counterposed positions under all the major political reports. (To permit the fullest, most effective presentation of the RCT's views, the convention suspended the normal rules of procedure on three reports to allow leading spokespersons of the RCT who were not delegates to present counter-reports.)

The RCT argued that some of the major areas of intervention of the LSA/ LSO and the Young Socialists — such as women's liberation, the student movement, the Quebecois nationalist movement — are "peripheral" to the class struggle, and urged that the League begin an immediate, aggressive turn toward "implantation" in the trade unions. Insofar as revolutionary cadres intervened in "peripheral" struggles like women's liberation, it should be as an essentially propagandist left wing. The League should not attempt to lead struggles for reforms, such as the campaign for abortion law repeal, but should direct these "peripheral" movements toward the organized working class. In student struggles, for instance, the revolutionaries should intervene primarily around themes like solidarity with workers' struggles and with the colonial revolution.

photo by MacInnis

JOAN NEWBIGGING, Vancouver organizer of LSA and member of convention's presiding committee, chaired special sessions at which $6,000 was raised toward expansion of League's activities.

To the majority's projection of building broad class struggle caucuses in the unions and NDP around the key radicalizing issues of the day, the RCT comrades counterposed the building of organizations and "fronts" of League sympathizers and other revolutionaries within the traditional organizations of the working class. Those fronts or circles would act as a "transmission belt" for revolutionary ideas to the mass movement.

In Quebec, the Revolutionary Communist Tendency held that the struggle for independence and against national oppression can be "coopted" by the national bourgeoisie, and that revolutionists should therefore support independence only through an "explicitly anticapitalist program." While the majority held that as Quebecois workers develop political class consciousness, they are more inclined to take up the struggle against national oppression, the RCT argued that nationalist demands (such as defence of the French language) become subordinated to class demands.

On Canadian nationalism, the RCT denounced the majority for what it termed their "ultraleft-abstract calls of 'workers of the world unite.' " It held that Canadian nationalism is mainly confined to the liberal petty-bourgeoisie, that the working class is "relatively indifferent" to it, that the bourgeoisie has little use for nationalism "because its main thrust is directed against the project to which the bourgeoisie is most committed, the further integration of the North American economy," and that if the bourgeoisie were to promote nationalism at some time in the future, its clearly reactionary use as a defence of the existing order would be unlikely to win it mass support.

The RCT's views were rejected by a large majority of the delegates.

At the end of the convention, the

→p 4

Majority Tendency, which had been organized in support of the positions of the PC majority on Canadian nationalism and the discussion in the Fourth International, announced its dissolution. The United Tendency did likewise. The Revolutionary Communist Tendency declared it would continue to exist as an organized tendency.

LEADERSHIP ELECTED

The convention concluded with the election of a new Central Committee (CC) and Control Commission.

The slate of CC members proposed by the nominating commission was adopted unanimously by the delegates. The new Central Committee has 35 members, including 14 women. Five are members of the RCT, three were previously members of the United Tendency.

A post-convention plenary meeting of the CC elected the following as officers: Ross Dowson, chairman; John Riddell, executive secretary, and Art Young, organizational secretary.

This convention marked a significant broadening of the leadership cadre of the Canadian Trotskyist movement, reflecting the rapid political development of the new young forces recruited to revolutionary Marxism out of the current radicalization. The majority of the delegates — 39 out of the 53 — were between the ages of 22 and 30. For 15 of them, it was their first convention; for another 23, only their second.

Of the 29 consultative delegates on the outgoing Central Committee, almost all had been in the movement for at least five years and a few for up to 35 years or more. Thus the leading cadre of the Canadian section encompasses a wide range of experience in the class struggle.

While the League orients strongly to the youth radicalization, its membership is heavily working class in composition. Of the delegates, 37 were workers, including six teachers and nine unemployed. Six were in trade unions. Nine were students, six work full time on the movement staff, and one was a farmer.

One of the highlights of the convention was a special session to launch an expansion fund to build up certain aspects of the League's internal operations. To start if off right, delegates raised some $6,000 from among themselves, as well as five typewriters, an automobile — and one delegate even donated a private airplane!

In a separate report on literature sales, it was reported that sales of Trotskyist literature in bookstores and on campuses by Crescent Publications, the Canadian distributors for Pathfinder Books, were up 100 percent in 1972 over the year before, and already this year are running 50 percent ahead of last year — an indication of the widespread and growing interest in Trostkyist views among the young radicals today.

International greetings

Official greetings were sent to the LSA/ LSO convention from many sections and sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International. In addition, the delegates were addressed by Alain Krivine, a leader of the Ligue Communiste, and former presidential candidate in France who represented the United Secretariat of the Fourth International; Joseph Hansen, representing the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP); and a leader of the Swedish Trotskyist organization, Revolutionara Marxisters Forbund (RMF — League of Revolutionary Marxists).

The convention voted to send official greetings to the congress of the British section, the International Marxist Group, meeting that same weekend; to Peng Shu-tse and Chen Pi-lan, founders of the Chinese Communist party and the Fourth International (who had also sent greetings to the convention); and to James P. Cannon, founder of the SWP.

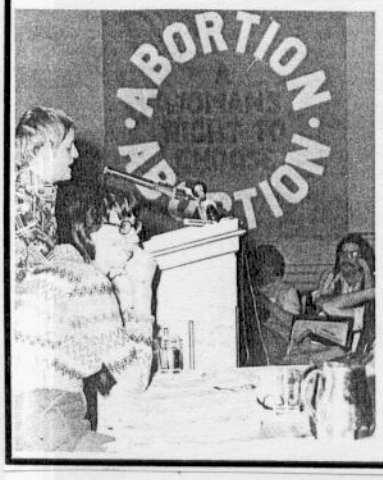
The internationalism of the delegates was also expressed in the sale at the convention of 82 subscriptions to Intercontinental Press, the international revolutionary Marxist weekly news magazine. An impressive display in the foyer exhibited samples of the Trotskyist press from around the world.

photo by MacInnis

ALAIN KRIVINE addressed convention on behalf of United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

labor Challenge #78 May 1973

LSA/LSO convention



Debate key questions of strategy

photo by Jeff White

New radicalization, NDP's role analyzed

"We are today in the first stages of a deepgoing process of radicalization, in which ever-wider layers of the population are beginning to question the assumptions, norms and shibboleths of this society, to search for alternative values and courses of action, and to move into action against their oppression and exploitation."

With these words, the political resolution adopted by the LSA/ LSO convention, entitled "The Developing Class Struggle in Canada," leads off an analysis of the main features of the contemporary radicalization. The leading edges of this radicalization in Canada have been the Quebecois nationalist struggle for self-determination and now political independence, the mass feminist sentiment, the recurring student struggles, and anti-imperialist movements centred around defense of the Indochinese revolution.

More recently, powerful nationalist movements have developed among the French-speaking Acadien population of the Maritime provinces, and Canada's half-million native peoples, the Indians and Inuit (Eskimos). An indication of the depth of the current radicalization is the phenomenon of "gay liberation" — the mobilization of homosexual men and women against their oppression, striking at some of the deepest taboos of capitalist society.

"In general," the resolution states, "every manifestation of capitalist decay and exploitation is bringing forward independent organizations in opposition — from ecology groups to organizations of pensioners and welfare recipients."

Rooted in the objective contradictions of Canadian capitalism, this radicalization reflects in its contours the changes in the composition of the work force and other social layers of the population under postwar capitalism (increasing role of the State and public sector, expansion of the educational system, regional underdevelopment, large-scale entry of women into the work force, etc.), as well as the impact of international developments, especially the colonial revolution, on radicalizing youth and oppressed national minorities. In this sense, their struggles, while unfolding largely outside the control and influence of the traditional working class organizations like the trade unions and the NDP, are a vital part of the developing class struggle.

The militant public sector strike in Quebec last year indicated the impact these social layers and their independent struggles can have and are already beginning to have on the development of a working class radicalization. For example, the teachers, hospital workers, office workers who form an increasing proportion of the work force, are largely unorganized or newly organized; they are relatively low-paid; an exceptional proportion are women; because this is an area of growth of the work force, their age levels are relatively lower, they are better educated and have higher expectations than many other workers. As layers of the working class particularly affected by the youth radicalization, and the growth of feminist consciousness, they are relatively open to politicization and radicalization.

photo by MacInnis

BEVERLEY BERNARDO of Winnipeg presents nominations commission's proposals for new Central Committee. Report was adopted unanimously.

In Quebec, the deep-felt consciousness of national oppression has accelerated the growth of strong anticapitalist sentiments among significant layers of militants in the unions. There, too, the "culture shock" of industrialization and its impact on the family structure and traditional values has been greatest. The stark contrast between the technological possibilities of modern society to resolve urgent social needs, and capitalism's need to deny or limit these benefits to large sections of the population on grounds of sex, language, race, or age, serves to increase the perspective for a mass radicalization in coming years as the capitalist economy enters increasing difficulties.

"Each radicalization differs from previous radicalizations," the political resolution notes. "This one is unique for the depth and breadth of the struggles of layers which constitute the leading edge of the process — a process which has only begun, and has yet to draw in the main contingents of the industrial working class.

"This is one of the strongest features of this radicalization. For the deeper, the more extensive the mobilization of these layers under their own leaderships, with their

→2

own demands, the deeper and more powerful will be the struggle of the class as a whole. Revolutionaries have every interest in propelling forward all these struggles, extending their mobilization, deepening their independent organization, and their critique of capitalist society."

The general increase in labor militancy of recent years, registered in a rising strike curve, has not resulted yet in a **general** politicization of the working class, or even in the development of a rank-and-file opposition current in the unions. Politically, the English-Canadian working class remains under the leadership of the social-democratic NDP and the labor bureaucracy which supports the NDP. The NDP in turn exercises substantial influence on the radicalization — both positively, in giving it a political link with the labor movement, and negatively, in tending to channel independent struggles into parliamentarist, electoral forms of action.

The convention report analyzed the problem of the NDP at some length. The resolution states: "The allegiance of the overwhelming bulk of the politically conscious layers of the working class to the NDP's procapitalist leadership and program stands as a fundamental barrier to revolutionary action. Overcoming this barrier is the central strategic problem of revolutionary Marxists in English Canada."

The LSA/ LSO gives critical support to the NDP. As the political resolution states, the Trotskyists "support the NDP as the elemental class alternative to the parties of the bourgeoisie, while giving no support to its reformist program and leadership. They join the NDP, and intervene in it, in order to go through the experience of struggle against reformism in the NDP along with the working class, to participate in the battles and political differentiation which takes place within the NDP, to promote the building of a class struggle caucus, and to win forces to the revolutionary vanguard organization."

This is done both by working inside the labor party to build a class struggle opposition current in the ranks, and by the independent activity of the League through its press, forums, election campaigns, etc. Within the NDP, the revolutionary socialists seek to mobilize significant layers of militants around key political issues, in struggles independent of the bureaucracy's control that challenge its reformist positions. It is necessary that the masses who look to the NDP for leadership discover **in the course of their own experiences** the political bankruptcy of social democracy and the necessity for a revolutionary party.

By posing the program of revolutionary Marxism in the framework of what an NDP government should do, the Trotskyists do not express any illusions as to the revolutionary capacities of social democracy, but rather explain and popularize their concept of a workers government, that is, a government that breaks with the capitalists and carries out measures aimed at the destruction of capitalism as a system.

Far from inhibiting the building of the independent revolutionary party, the Canadian Trotskyists' orientation to the NDP — with its diversity of tactical applications through the years — has been a principal means of building the influence and cadres of revolutionary socialism in the labor movement. (D.F.)

DISPLAY of world Trotskyist press attracted considerable attention.

labor Challenge #18 May 1973

Chart strategy for feminist struggle

by JACQUIE HENDERSON

The discussion on women's liberation at the LSA/LSO convention reflected the full and fruitful involvement of the League in the feminist movement. Women members became active in this new movement from the formation of the first feminist groups and participated in their first actions, including the 1970 Abortion Caravan which drew 500 women to Ottawa to protest the government's restrictive abortion laws. As the feminist

photo by MacInnis

MANON LEGER, former mayoralty candidate in Montreal, spoke in women's liberation debate.

radicalization has spread this involvement has deepend.

Many of the women delegates had been recruited to the revolutionary movement through their involvement in the women's liberation movement. Others had gained valuable experience in this movement that contributed to their overall development as revolutionists.

This wealth of experience was reflected in the wide range of discussion and viewpoints in the preconvention period and at the convention itself. Two counter-reports to the line of the Political Committee were presented at the convention, one by the Revolutionary Communist Tendency and the other by an individual delegate. A third counter-position was withdrawn at the last minute. Close to 30 delegates spoke in the discussion, including two dozen women.

The PC report, presented by LSA/ LSO Women's Liberation director Jacquie Henderson, was adopted by a vote of 39 for, 10 opposed and 3 abstentions.

In this report, Henderson outlined how the intervention of the LSA/ LSO
on a Marxist analysis of the oppression of women — that this oppression is rooted in class society and that the liberation of women necessitates the destruction of the capitalist system.

She singled out as the most outstanding characteristic of the new feminist movement its deepgoing challenge to every aspect of the oppression of women, including the previously unquestioned role of women in the family.

Henderson's report outlined projections for further involvement in the feminist movement. She said, "We don't have any kind of a blueprint of how the feminist movement will develop — nor is it possible to draw up such a blueprint of the future unfolding of the radicalization. What we do have is an analysis of women's oppression and a strategy for women's liberation, which guide us in our intervention." She added that "our program is developed and refined as we gain more experience in feminist struggles and as the concerns and needs of women become clearer through this process."

She summed up: "Our program is geared to raising the general level of consciousness of women and their confidence in their ability to fight for their demands and win."

The report noted the growth and diversification of the feminist movement which began as a dozen small groups across the country four years ago. It stressed the importance of participating in all the developments of the movement as they emerge. It noted as particularly important the development of a cross-country campaign for repeal of the abortion laws and the emergence of feminist struggles within the New Democratic Party.

Henderson discussed the significance of struggles in the NDP to force the leadership to act on its women's rights program, a program fought for in conventions by feminists and socialists. She said this struggle "brings women in direct conflict with the reformist leadership of the party and trade union hierarchy as a whole." As concrete evidence she pointed to the events in the B.C. NDP, where a big struggle is taking place to get the newly elected NDP government to act on its women's rights program.

She projected that "the feminist struggle will play an important role in breaking the Canadian working class from reformism. The reformist leadership of the NDP opposes and attempts to block the development of the feminist movement for this very reason. This is why the NDP leadership is so reluctant to give more than token support for struggles like the campaign to repeal the abortion laws."

The report stressed the importance of the struggle for the right to abortion. It noted that this issue which has come to the fore in the last

photo by MacInnis

COLLEEN LEVIS, organizer of Montreal LSO, was chairwoman.

few years, has provided a focus for the first cross-country campaign of the feminist movement. It discussed the significance of the formation of action coalitions such as the Front Commun pour l'Abrogation des Lois sur l'Avortement in Quebec and the Canadian Women's Coalition for Repeal of the Abortion Laws.

p. 2

Many delegates picked up these themes in the discussion. Coreen Douglas, a delegate from Vancouver where she is a leading member of the University of British Columbia Young Socialists as well as of the LSA spoke on the importance of building the Abortion Tribunal set for Nov. 3 in Ottawa. She related her experiences in building the B.C. Abortion Tribunal held last February on her campus, and the role this action played in uniting feminists in B.C.

Colleen Levis, Montreal organizer of the LSO, and Manon Leger, former LSO mayoralty candidate against Drapeau, discussed the special forms of oppression facing Quebecoises. They pointed to the rise of the feminist movement in Quebec and the big impact that the national struggle has had on it. The feminist radicalization in turn is beginning to have an impact on the national struggle and the working class struggle as a whole. Levis urged the delegates to build the defense campaign of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, the Montreal physician who is facing criminal charges under the abortion law.

Joan Newbigging, Vancouver organizer of the LSA, spoke on the combined impact of a revolutionary intervention into all the different manifestations of the feminist radicalization. She relayed how, for example, their participation in B.C. in the NDP women's rights struggle and in the women's studies course at UBC, made efforts to build the March conference of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion laws more effective.

Lis Angus of Toronto spoke on the importance of reaching out to women with socialist education and recruiting them to the LSA/LSO. She also drew delegates' attention to the degree to which women in the LSA/LSO had developed as political leaders through coming to grips with the complex problems posed by this new feminist radicalization as demonstrated in their articles in the socialist biweekly Labor Challenge, and in the greatly expanded participation of women in all the debates and discussions of the convention, as compared to the 1970 LSA/LSO convention.

Gay activists protest newspaper censorship

by GEORGE ADDISON

Gay militants and their supporters demonstrated at the Toronto Star building, May 2, to bring attention to the Star's recent acts of discrimination against Canada's only gay liberation journal The Body Politic.

The demonstration came in response to the Star's refusal to print a promotional advertisement for The Body Politic and to the recent refusal by Newsweb Enterprise (80 percent owned by the Star) to print the 8th issue of the gay liberation journal. Newsweb had printed the seven previous issues. As well, the gay militants were protesting unfair coverage of events relating to gay liberation and to discrimination against gay people in the Star Classifieds.

The text of the advertisement rejected by the Star is:

The Body Politic: Gay Liberation Journal
$2.00 for six issues
4 Kensington Ave.
Toronto, Ont. M5T 2J7

Lionel Mohr, Director of Marketing for the Star told members of the Body Politic editorial collective April 16 that their advertisiing policy is under review and a final decision to reverse the ruling could take from one day to five years.

The refusal to print the ad was such blatant discrimination against homosexuals that the Ontario Press Council — initiated by the Star — condemned it. The council stated April 11 that: "In this case the council feels there was discrimination in the refusal to publish a simple advertisement for the periodical."

On April 30, Newsweb Enterprise of Toronto refused to print the eighth issue and all future issues of Body Politic. Jearld Moldenhauer, coordinator of Body Politic said in a release: "The President of Newsweb — Mr. Douglas Dempsey — informed us that he was instructed by a major stockholder not to print our paper." Newsweb is the printing company used by many radical and underground papers in Toronto. The refusal to print The Body Politic is a denial of democratic rights which threatens all left and dissident viewpoints. And the overall assault by the big business Star on gay people and The Body Politic, opens the way for increased discrimination and attacks against other radical views in Toronto.

labor Challenge #18 May 1973

Canadian nationalism vital to capitalist rule

The convention reporter on the resolution, "Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism," was John Riddell, executive secretary of the LSA-LSO. The following is an extract from his report.

The Political Committee draft resolution, "Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism," presents four main ideas.

First, it examines the main trends of imperialist development on a world scale: the increasing interpenetration of trade and investment, the rise of competition among imperialist powers. It concludes that Canada is not exempt from these trends and these contradictions.

One feature of modern imperialist development is the emergence of trading blocks, and close alliances among imperialist powers, which nonetheless retain their independent control over separate nation-states. The development of the "special relationship" between Canada and the United States has preceeded far along this path.

The resolution denies, however, that this has changed the fundamental character of Canadian capitalism. It denies that capitalism in North America has been able to abolish the border, to overcome the contradiction between the international character of capitalist production, on the one hand, and the national limits of the capitalist state on the other.

The Canadian ruling class is thus an imperialist bourgeoisie, with highly monopolized holdings concentrated in Canada.

It is in control of the Canadian state, a highly centralized and efficient mechanism for the defense of its class interests.

photo by MacInnis

JOHN RIDDELL, executive secretary of LSA/LSO.

The Canadian bourgeoisie has its own national interests, distinct from those of the U.S. ruling class, and it utilizes the Canadian state to defend these interests to the best of its ability.

The second proposition of "Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism" concerns the general character of nationalism, and its specific role in English Canada today.

It defines nationalism as the identification with the nation, its independence and its culture,the belief that the nation as a whole has common problems or goals, and the concept that a common struggle for these goals is called for. It examines the role of nationalism in different historical epochs, and in different sectors of the world today.

In general, the resolution states, national consciousness has a progressive character only where it promotes the struggle against aspects of national oppression suffered by a people. In other words, nationalism is progressive when it corresponds to real national tasks (the winning of national independence, establishment of a national language, etc.) left unachieved by the bourgeois revolution, and which can now be achieved in their totality only through socialist revolution.

In imperialist nations, which suffer no national oppression, nationalism can only pay a fundamentally reactionary role, blunting the cutting edge of the class struggle. This has been and remains the case for Canada.

The Canadian bourgeoisie can employ nationalist demagogy of an anti-U.S. variety in support of its negotiating positions in its conflicts with U.S. imperialism, to rally workers to its class-collaborationist line (as for example in the event of the imposition of wage controls), to help head off developing class consciousness, and fracture the organization of workers along class lines.

Third, the resolution demonstrates how revolutionists must examine the real impact of U.S. investment on Canada, and not accept uncritically the nationalist view of its significance. They must base their program on the real, objective situation before the working class, on the objective tasks before the masses.

Our program and our intervention, it states, cannot be founded on the desire to identify with the sentiments and aspirations of the masses, except insofar as these correspond to the real objective needs of the working class and its allies.

If English Canadian nationalism does not correspond to any such objective needs, then it cannot have a progressive character.

The fourth proposition of the resolution, "Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism," consists of a discussion of how revolutionary socialists should intervene in a radicalization which is dominated by nationalist illusions.

We must intervene effectively and adroitly, it explains, in the debate and ferment around the question of U.S. investment, Canadian independence, "U.S. domination." We must do so along these lines:

a) We defend the real class interests of the working people. Where workers have national illusions, or voice their social indignation in a nationalist form, we do not identify with the nationalism of the workers, but with the real class interests which underly their reactions.

b) We put forward a class struggle program aimed at showing workers in life that the enemy is at home — the Canadian ruling class — and to lead and direct their struggle against this ruling class.

c) We oppose Canadian nationalism, including its anti-U.S. expression. We oppose patriotism, the concept that Canadians should unite against U.S. domination, that Canadians should struggle together for Canadian independence, to defend Canadian culture, build a Canadian identity. We combat nationalist illusions in the working class.

labor Challenge #78 May 1973

Quebecois nationalism deepens class struggle

by ART YOUNG

A discussion by activists, taking a pause in order to examine some of the underlying factors in the struggle: that was the spirit of the delegates' consideration of the Quebec resolution.

Only one month after the last LSA/ LSO convention, Trudeau - declared the War Measures Act, suspending democratic rights and jailing some 500 Quebec nationalists and socialists. Among the jailed were leaders of the LSO. Yet the League responded energetically, helping to establish broadly-based defense committees and protest actions. At the same time, members of the League in English Canada also went into action against the repression. The defense movement was ultimately successful.

More recently, members of the LSO have played a leading role in the struggle for French-language rights and for an independent Quebec. Alain Beiner, who reported on the resolution for the Political Committee, has been a principal organizer of such demonstrations, which have mobilized up to 8,000 persons.

The Quebec resolution begins by reaffirming that Quebc is an oppressed nation within the Canadian confederation, denied its right to self-determination, to use its own national language, and it is subjected to imperialist economic pillage.

The struggle against this oppression has given rise to a broad nationalist movement, encompassing different layers of Quebec society. But the liberation of Quebec cannot be achieved by a multi-class alliance of the entire nation against the foreign oppressor. National oppression is rooted in imperialist domination; freedom from this domination requires a complete break with imperialism, which the weak Quebec bourgeoisie cannot achieve. Whatever may be the configuration of forces currently leading the nationalist movement, national liberation can be fully achieved only through socialism.

The Quebecois struggle takes on added explosiveness because the nation is located on the North American continent, inside the imperialist fortress itself. Additional factors are the high degree of industrialization and the overwhelmingly proletarian character of the nation. The class struggle goes on uninterruptedly within the nation, as the spectacular strikes of April-May 1972 demonstrate. The resolution states that **national oppression "has not brought about a coming together of Quebec social classes, but rather has qualitatively deepened the entirely of contradictions between the oppressed and oppressors within the nation."**

photo by Jeff White

ALAIN BEINER, national organizer of LSO, presented Quebec report.

Thus the Quebec struggle has a combined character: it is both a national struggle for liberation, and a workers' struggle against capitalism. The struggles overlap, influence each other, and have a common goal — the establishment of a socialist society.

The recent upsurge of labor militancy in Quebec has not eliminated or overshadowed the national question, Beiner stated. Far from abandoning nationalist aspirations as they radicalize, the Quebecois workers have deepened their revolt against national oppression parallel with their development of class consciousness.

Nor have other struggles, such as those of students or women, been bypassed.

Yet there has in fact been a downturn in actions around nationalist demands in the past few years. The bourgeois Parti Quebecois retains its hegemony over the nationalist movement, uncontested by any other major force. This hegemony has tended to increase over time.

The domination by the PQ is in large part due to the crisis of leadership within the working class. It is due to the refusal of the labor leadership to lead the class forward to resolve the tasks which are posed before it.

The power of the Quebec workers and their capacity for far-reaching struggle was graphically demonstrated in May 1972, when they paralyzed the economy in a massive spontaneous strike wave, seized the media, took over towns and instituted forms of self-management. These actions posed, at least implicitly, the question of what class would rule Quebec. But the strikes were crippled by a lack of leadership. The union leaders proved unable to direct them to victory. Most importantly, they refused to pose the political tasks, the necessity for the workers to break with the bourgeois parties including the PQ, through initiatives towards independent labor political action.

The refusal of the union leadership to challenge the PQ is one of the main reasons for the latter's continuing hegemony in the workers' movement.

To overcome this crisis of leadership is the central task. This must be done, notes the resolution, by applying the method of the Transitional Program to the concrete situation.

A key demand in such a tran-

→p2

labor Challenge #78

SOLIDARITY WITH TEACHERS. English-speaking nursing students at Vanier College CEGEP in Montreal recently demonstrated against Quebec government's "reclassification" of teachers, aimed at cutting salaries and lowering education standards. Note French-language signs.

#2

sitional program for Quebec is for a labor party, a party based on the trade unions. In the absence of a mass revolutionary party, but with the existence of powerful trade-union organizations, this is the most concrete way to pose to the mass of workers the need to break politically with the bourgeoisie and establish their own party.

The Trotskyists also advocate an independent Quebec. "For revolutionary socialists, it is a fundamental principle to defend the right of self-determination for all oppressed nations. Since the key sectors of the Quebec nation have come to massively support independence, the demand for independence has become the concrete manifestation of this general right," the resolution states.

In the course of the discussion, severalspeakers pointed to the stagnation or disappearance of many other groups on the Quebec left. Of particular significance is the decline of the ultraleft current, illustrated most clearly in the disappearance from view of the terrorist Front de Liberation du Quebec, whose former partisans had become demoralized by its inability to win support or achieve gains. Yet a good part of the left has lapsed into either abstentionism or capitulation to the union bureaucrats and PQ leadership.

The LSO, in contrast, has registered advances. Its press has expanded substantially, with a regular monthly 12-page newspaper, and a series of pamphlets. The League has intervened vigorously in the major political events on the Quebec left since the LSA/ LSO's last convention in 1970, noted Beiner. He singled out in particular its intervention during April-May 1972: The LSO published two special issues of their newspaper and distributed a massive quantity of leaflets at union meetings and demonstrations. It put forward a broad program of demands designed to overcome the inadequacy of the trade union leadership and lead the movement forward. This included mass demonstrations to generalize the upsurge and draw in new layers of workers, publication of a daily strike paper to counter the lies of the bourgeois press and develop the programmatic thrust of the struggle, and the formation of action committees 'in each factory and workplace, and at the city-wide level." The LSO also pointed out the historic significance of the struggle, calling on the unions to break from the PQ and set out on the path of a workers and farmers government.

Armed with their program which has already been tested in life, and with a group of experienced cadres, the LSO stands poised to make important gains in the next period, Beiner concluded.

labor Challenge #78 May 1973

Teachers fight education cutbacks

by NORM BROWN

Spurred on by revelations that educational cutbacks will mean the elimination of some 1,145 teaching posts in Metro Toronto alone next year, teachers in the Toronto area have called for a mass demonstration at the provincial legislature in mid-May. At a spirited meeting in North York on May 1, called by the Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation (OSSTF) District 13, assembled teachers voted 1000 to 12 for a mass walkout, decisively showing teachers' commitment to fight the cutbacks.

"How would it look if 35,000 teachers across the province go out? That's what it's coming to," stated Doug Dinsmore, incoming president of the OSSTF, to the largest applause of the North York meeting. Teachers determined to launch a massive campaign, to invite the participation of the memberships of other Metro teachers' organizations as well as student and community organizations to participate in their action.

Later that night the Council of High School Representatives for the City of Toronto, representing more than 11,000 students in 11 schools, issued a press release solidarizing themselves with the teachers' campaign. The press release stated: "The cutbacks are by no means an asset to the taxpayers but threatens their social services such as education. What is questionable is the sincerity of the Ontario government which justifies the cutbacks while it conceals its log books of government airplanes and attempts to put an increasing tax on consumers and not corporations. We call for a halt to the cutbacks."

Cutbacks in eudcation spending threaten an unprecedented crisis for the elementary and secondary schools in Metro Toronto. The Tory government in Ontario, with the complicity of the Metro Board of Education, is cutting about 18 million dollars from the 399 million dollar budget, originally estimated. The following year, cutbacks are projected to double. When teachers return to school in September they will find the pupil-teacher ratio increased by at least two students per classroom plus a larger work load in general.

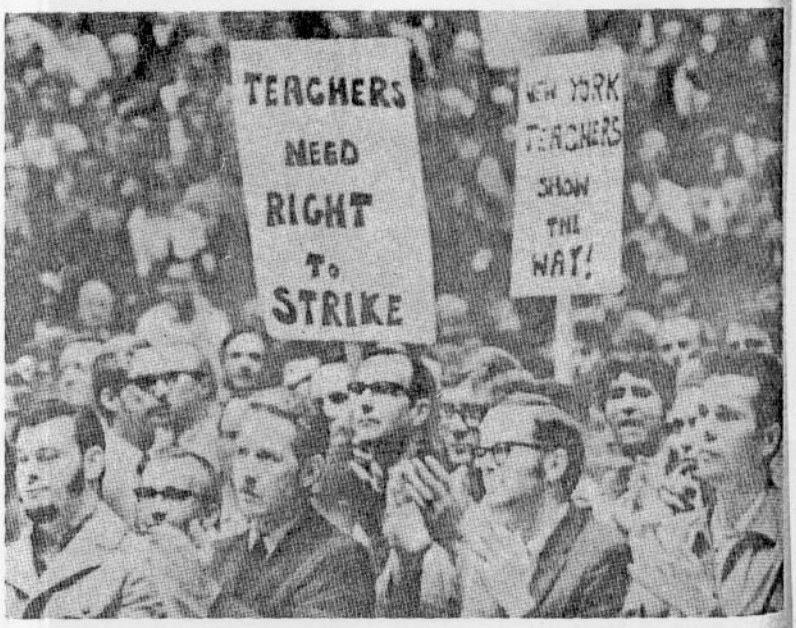
Teachers are angry at the conditions they face. Yet the conservative bureaucrats who control the teachers' federations have offered only token resistance, aligning themselves with the Board of Education in a mock "campaign" which has brought no results for teachers or students. The Metro Board, as might have been predicted, has dropped even the pretense of resistance to the cutbacks by agreeing to chop their budget.

This employer-employee alliance has led nowhere for teachers. Federations must align themselves with students (who have already organized resistance to the cutbacks involving thousands.) while maintaining complete independence from the boards, if they are to effectively fight the cutbacks.

The failure of the teachers' leadership to mobilize the ranks has prompted the organization of caucuses in OSSTF District 15 (Toronto) and the Toronto Teachers Federation (TTF — elementary male teachers) challenging the present leadership by poroposing an effective strategy for resisting the cutbacks.

Militants from District 15 have already distributed a series of leaflets in the high schools, calling for the right to strike, an end to the cutbacks and presenting a strategy of effective mass action, for unity of teachers against the cutbacks.

These struggles by the ranks of teachers are only the beginning. A new mood of militancy is propelling more teachers than ever into action, and will continue to do so, so long as they are threatened by the cutbacks.



TEACHERS FIGHT CUTBACKS. Struggle against Ontario government's moves to chop school budgets, fire teachers, can carry forward struggle for teacher control of work load begun years ago in Toronto [above photo].

Teachers mobilize against cutbacks

INSIDE: Behind the cutbacks in Ont. schools
Quebec teachers fight declassification
page 6-7

photo by Jeff White

Toronto teachers march against cutbacks

labor Challenge

May 28, 1973 #79 Vol 4 No. 9

Who rules America?

What Watergate means

by PETER SEIDMAN

New Watergate evidence and indictments handed down in the last week show that what at first appeared to be a "caper" by a few individuals was in fact only a small part of a gigantic criminal scandal involving the highest circles of the government.

So far, top officials of the White House, the Justice Department, the State Department, the CIA, the FBI, the Commerce Department, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and the Marine Corps have been implicated.

Nixon's guilt has become so apparent that leading capitalist politicians have begun to sound sharp warnings against the talk of impeachment increasingly being heard in Washington — not only from liberals like Democrat Bella Abzug, but from Republican stalwarts like conservative Barry Goldwater as well.

U.S. News & World Report frantically echoed these warnings in a May 21 editorial entitled "Impeach? Unthinkable!":

"Think of what a trial of impeachment with its inevitable demagogy — brought into American homes in living color by TV — could mean to this country. There is no way to measure in advance the impact of exploding emotions. It is entirely possible the violent reaction could rival the anti-war and civil-rights riots that created havoc in the 1960s."

NOT THE SYSTEM?

Precisely because they fear the way in which the Watergate scandal has exposed the U.S. government, many defenders of the status quo have sought to find explanations for the scandal anywhere but at its real source: the rule of the capitalist class, which Nixon and his gang represent. From their earliest days in school, Americans are taught that the majority rules through free elections. These elections are structured by a Constitution that, we are told, provides broad guarantees for the civil liberties and democratic rights of the U.S. population. And the whole process is tailored to achieve "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for all."

NOW MORE THAN EVER, NIXON'S THE ONE. But he still claims he knew nothing about any illegal acts.

THE CAPITALIST STATE

But in reality, the U.S. government is the complete opposite of this popular myth. Far from existing to ensure "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" for the many, the government is run against the interests of the majority — as Watergate has shown.

The truth is that the U.S. government is a body of repressive institutions backed by huge military power — designed to enforce not the rule of the majority, but of a tiny minority, the U.S. capitalist class.

This minority consists of a few thousand people — "America's 60 Families," headed by the Rockefellers, Du-Ponts, Fords, and Mellons — who own and control the factories, the banks, and the corporations. Nixon and the government bureaucrats he leads are the tools of this capitalist class.

The capitalists and their government agents make all the decisions about how the factories and corporations they own will be run: about how many jobs there will be, and at what wages; about how much food will be produced, and at what prices; about whether they will produce bombs or schools; about whether they will spend money to curb pollution; about whether they will overthrow the governments of other countries.

They make these decisions not with the aim of improving the living conditions of those who work for them and produce all the wealth, but only with the aim of maximizing their profits.

In The Communist Manifesto, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, explain that "the executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."

Because this state apparatus is used to enforce the profits-first needs of a capitalist minority as opposed to an exploited majority, it must resort to the ruthless methods that have been revealed in the Watergate

see page 5

labor Challenge #79 May 1973

Toronto teachers march to protest school cutbacks

by GEORGE ADDISON

About 6,000 angry teachers and students marched from Toronto's City Hall to the provincial legislature at Queen's Park May 14, in the first teacher-organized demonstration against education spending cutbacks in Ontario. As the first marchers reached Queen's Park chanting "Stop the cutbacks, raise the ceilings", the end of the demonstration was just leaving City Hall square, a distance of about a mile.

Signs identified the various contingents as they marched. They represented all five teachers federations in Metropolitan Toronto in both secondary, Catholic and elementary schools, from all the Metro districts. There were representatives from London and Hamilton, as well as solidarity telegrams from teachers' organizations across the province. There was a sizeable and vocal high school student contingent. And representatives from the organized labor movement spoke to the rally.

The demonstration was a major accomplishment for militant teachers within the Metro federations who have been fighting for such actions over the past few years. The initiative came from activists in the North York Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation (OSSTF) branches, but the concept quickly spread, bringing the other Metro districts and the other federations behind it. An indication of the ferment among teachers was the election, three days after the demonstration, of a militant pro-unionism slate to the majority of the executive of District 15 (Toronto) of the OSSTF.

Among the banners and placards on the demonstration were "Educational Cutbacks — save now, pay later," "Raise the ceilings or we'll raise the roof" and "Tax the corporations." Some marchers carried signs reading "Remember St. George," referring to the recent Tory defeat to the Liberals in the Toronto riding. Others carried signs reading "Remember B.C." citing last year's provincial election where the NDP swept to power with the aid of the B.C. teacher's federation.

The committee that organized the demonstration had voted not to allow a student to speak. But when the student contingent at City Hall chanted "Students want to speak," a committee representative put it to the crowd. "Let him speak," the demonstrators replied, giving student council president David Johnson from Harbord Collegiate the right to speak.

Johnson told how he had been elected at Harbord as a Young Socialist, on a program of action against the cutbacks and for student rights. He urged teachers to unite with students in mass actions which "we students have been carrying alone for years." Johnson further appealed to teachers to support "student demands for their democratic rights" against the repressive school system.

At Queen's Park, while teachers chanted "We want Wells," 10 representatives of the teachers went inside to see the education minister. Wells, who refused to speak to the crowd, was reported by the delegation to have rejected their demands, refusing even to examine the quality of education until all "the fat" (presumably the 1,145 teachers scheduled to lose their jobs in Metro this year) had been trimmed from the school budgets.

The rally was addressed by both representatives of the teachers organizations and politicians from the Liberal party and the NDP. NDP leader Stephen Lewis, rather than demanding that the giant corporations be forced to pay for education, accepted the framework of the cutbacks, suggesting that the cuts be made elsewhere in the school system.

Lewis suggested further that demonstrations would not bring about the ncesssary changes, and teachers should instead organize for the 1975 elections.

To thunderous applause, chairwoman Liz Barkley, a North York teacher militant who acted as chief marshall on the demonstration, replied: "We can't wait until '75. We have to fight now."

Other speakers, including John Glenn, president of the Supply Teachers federation (see text in accompanying article) received ovations for suggesting that the best way forward was the organization of unions, with the right to strike and bargain on working conditions, to defend the interests of teachers, and the continuation of mass demonstrations to highlight their cause and mobilize public support.

Barkley called the demonstration "an historic action. This is a militant and angry response to the purge of education going on in the province. It shows the determination of teachers, students and the workers in CUPE (Canadian Union of Public Employees — the support staff union).

"And this is only the beginning," Barkley told the cheering crowd. "We'll be back again, only three times this size."

Toronto teachers on the march

'Teachers need unions, bargaining power'

The following are excerpts from the speech given by John Glenn to the Toronto teachers' rally against the educational cutbacks. Glenn is president of the Toronto District of the Metropolitan Association of Supply Teachers.

We have read of the greater economic competition among major countries today. This competition has caused the various governments to take actions that serve to protect and increase the revenues to industry by cutting back on social expenditures, no matter how vital these expenditures are to the social well-being of the citizenry. A reading of the press will show that this is occurring in Ontario too where education, hospitalization, welfare and other social benefits are under the gun. At the same time, these cutbacks in education are forcing prospective teachers away from education and into lower paying positions of industry. In short, to maintain and increase the already bloated returns of big business, social benefits are being cut back at Queen's Park as the modern "Family Compact" looks after the owners of industry first and the people a poor second.

Supply teachers are most affected by the present government policies in education as regular probationary teachers are being placed on full time supply next year by many school boards. In the very near future, the four or five days of work per week may dwindle into two or three days per month. Our association is doing its best considering the fact that we lack funds and are not a legal entity.

In the present situation, it is up to the federations with more strength and money to show the necessary dynamic leadership in order to stop and roll back the present cutbacks and ceilings in education. They must strive for full bargaining rights, not just on salaries, but also on the important aspect of teaching, work conditions — a veto power if you will! The federations must take the same road as the Quebec Teachers Union in order to fight resolutely against the reactionary educational policies of the Department of Education. Like our Quebec counterparts, we must align with other employees inside and outside education, as well as with the parents against those governments and policies that are not in the interests of the common people.

If the federations wish to have any success against the present onslaught on education, we must prepare for massive demonstrations like this one today as well as strike actions. Yes, unionism must come.

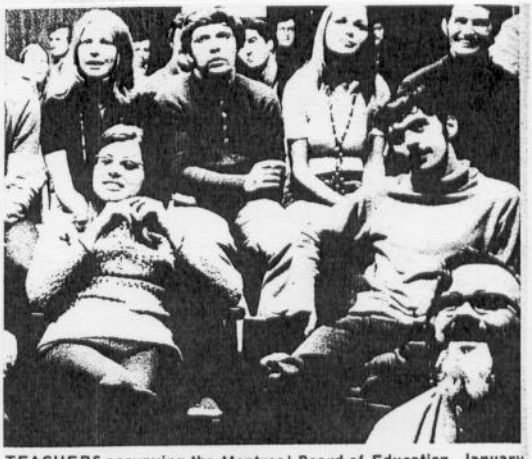
In conclusion, when we metaphorically storm Davis's "palace and gasworks," do not be taken in by the pious platitudes, the pedagogical euphemisms and meaningless minor amendments to their present educational policies. Accept only a complete withdrawal and reversal of the policies of cutbacks and ceilings because the money is available if the huge corporations would pay the taxes that they should. If they don't offer this, then consider this demonstration here today as our grand beginning — a beginning for wider and bigger rallies and actions across the province.

Education controls us; we must control education!

labor Challenge #79 May 1973

Quebec teachers declassified

Crisis in CEGEPs



TEACHERS occupying the Montreal Board of Education, January 1971, to protest declassification of high school and elementary teachers.

by COLLEEN LEVIS
and DICK FIDLER

MONTREAL — Quebec's junior college system, a showcase of the educational reforms of the Quiet Revolution, is once again wracked by crisis, the biggest since the massive student occupations of 1968.

A majority of the 6,150 teachers in the province's CEGEPs (Colleges d'Enseignement General et Professionel — junior colleges) are fighting the Bourassa government's "reclassification"; scheme which downgrades their teaching credentials — and their pay. Their struggle, involving tactics ranging from a de facto "strike" to militant demonstrations and withholding of students' marks, has won wide support from students and the community.

Its outcome can be a decisive factor in determining the fate of the Bourassa government's current anti-labor offensive.

The reclassification is effectively a "declassification." For example, according to the new grading, teachers' qualifications based on self-teaching or study through correspondence courses, or degrees obtained at institutions outside Quebec, may no longer be recognized as such. Declassification has to this point lowered the scholarity and teaching credentials of some 80 percent of English-speaking and 45 percent of French-speaking CEGEP teachers. Fewer than one percent have been upgraded.

Lower classification has meant pay cuts of up to $3,000 a year for some teachers — retroactive to when the teacher was hired. Moreover, pay levels will be frozen until teachers manage to reach their old classification through accumulation of seniority or further education at an accredited institution.

Even before the latest edicts, Quebec teachers on the average were making about $1,500 to $2,000 a year less than their Ontario counterparts comparing the same degrees from the same schools.

The CEGEP teachers' declassification follows the systematic reclassification of some 80,000 high school and elementary school teachers in recent years. In addition, the contracts of many professors and teachers are not being renewed.

DECLASSIFICATION

Declassification wipes out the modest 4.8 percent salary increase the provincial government allowed CEGEP teachers last December under the settlement imposed following the smashing of the massive strike by teachers and other public sector workers in the spring.

In all, the Quebec government has cut $200 million from its education budget this year. (At the same time, grants to financial institutions and private companies were increased by almost 30 percent during the last fiscal year.)

The teachers face an uphill battle to defeat declassification. Under Law 19, which broke the public sector strike, the teachers are forbidden to strike. The heads of the unions — Yvon Charbonneau of the CEQ, Marcel Pepin of the CSN — were until May 16 in jail. The CEQ itself faces court charges for violating injunctions last year which could bring fines of up to one and a quarter million dollars.

The teachers in some CEGEPs have responded to the freeze on wages with a "freeze" on classes. Teachers still report to the classroom, but instead of teaching the curriculum, talk about anything and everything else with the students. For most teachers this tactic means more work than ever — so that students don't lose their year, the teachers are helping them outside classroom hours, correcting homework and term papers.

The freeze on classes has extended to 24 of the province's 38 CEGEPs for varying periods during recent weeks. In 21 CEGEPs teachers have voted to withhold students' marks to pressure the administrations and government. A petition against declassification that teachers circulated in the Montreal area was signed by 45,000 parents and other supporters.

'PARALLEL CLASSES'

At three Montreal-area CEGEPs, where the administrations violated the government directive and continued to pay the teachers under their former classifications, the government imposed trusteeship and froze teachers' pay cheques. Teachers and students at CEGEP Saint-Laurent responded by setting up "parallel classes" under the control of a "pedagogical commission" formed of six students, eight teachers and one representative of the suspended administration. When the government-appointed trustee issued an ultimatum to teachers to resume normal classes or face extension of the session, even its annulment, students voted almost unanimously in a mass assembly to support their teachers. At English-language Dawson CEGEP, also under trusteeship, teachers voted to strike

→2

labor Challenge #79
p. 2

for 24 hours in solidarity with the Saint-Laurent teachers.

On May 8 close to a thousand teachers and students from the Saint-Laurent, Dawson and Vanier CEGEPs, as well as student and staff representatives from the English and French universities in the area, held a demonstration in Dominion Square to protest declassification.

The pedagogical commission at Saint-Laurent demands that the college, instead of extending the school year, grant certificates to the students who, under its supervision, have completed the curriculum in accordance with the norms.

ENGLISH-SPEAKING TEACHERS

An important aspect of this struggle has been the leading role of English-speaking teachers. Traditionally, English teachers have remained aloof from the French-language majority in Quebec. At other levels of the educational system, they even have their own unions. But the English-language CEGEPs were hit hardest by the current declassification. One reason is that they have more Third World and foreign-educated teachers, whose teaching credentials are now being challenged.

The current declassification struggle is the latest stage in a continuing battle over control of educational norms and working conditions between teachers and the provincial government that goes back to 1968, when the Union Nationale government of the day smashed the first province-wide teachers' strike with Bill 25. That bill linked the standardization of teachers' wages across Quebec with a generalized system of classification based on scholarity and years of experience., When the joint teacher-government committee on classification dissolved in November 1971, having classified barely 20 percent of teachers, the government proceeded unilaterally with reclassification, giving its evaluations force of law in the decrees of last fall.

The teachers' unions are demanding that the government suspend reclassification procedures, at least until June 1974 when an official committee studying the question is scheduled to submit its report,. and that meanwhile the

see page 10

Repression in Quebec

continued from page 6

colleges be authorized to recognize the old classifications and pay wages, including retroactive wages, accordingly. The unions also demand annulment of the government wage decree of last December which replaced collective bargaining.

CONTROL

Faced with the widespread revolt against its new norms, the Quebec government is now trying to buy off the teachers, by offering lump sum salary payments to compensate those declassified. The teachers have rejected this. According to Francine Lalonde, president of the National Teachers' Federation of the CSN, "It is not only a problem of loss of money. There are principles involved, important principles. What is at stake is the technological control the government wants to have over teaching, and it is this control that we cannot accept."

A similar government offer to set up a grievance committee to rule on individual complaints has been rejected by the unions, which correctly insist that the whole concept of declassification of teachers must be rejected. The teachers also insist on guarantees that there be no reprisals against those who fought the cutbacks and declassification.

The wider aim of the Liberal government's assault on the teachers is to curb the teachers' unions which were in the forefront of last year's public sector strike, and which have been demanding an increasing say in teaching conditions, and even hiring and firing. The teachers are the focal point of the government's general attack on the unions, designed to make Quebec safe for big business investment. As Lucille Beauchemin, vice-president of the CSN's national teachers' federation (FNEQ), explains: "The teachers are numerous, organized and very militant right across the province. They are the most capable of analyzing the social and political situation and carrying this analysis into the population."

Robert Chagnon, president of the Montreal Teachers' Alliance, echoes this analysis. "The Parent Report and the reforms which followed it, highlighted the importance of education and the role of the teacher in Quebec society. The teachers gained confidence in themselves and they began to play a role in social change. That is not to the advantage of the Establishment. The government has no interest in things changing. The Bourassa government wants obedient teachers."

The moves against the teachers have been accompanied by attacks on students for nonpayment of fees at the Universite du Quebec and Universite de Montreal, the repressive New Pedagogical Regime directed at student militants in the CEGEPs (later withdrawn under heavy opposition), and other repressive regulations in the high schools.

For many Quebecois the creation in the 1960s of the CEGEPs — the post-secondary technical and professional institutions which replaced seminaries and classical colleges — symbolized their entry into the postwar industrial age. The government's crackdown on CEGEP teachers and students today signifies for many more the end of educational reform.

The teachers leadership have effectively demonstrated the implications between their struggle and the future of the educational system in Quebec. Their struggle also indicates the need for far-reaching measures to end the cutbacks on education — such as shifting the tax burden from working people to the corporations, to make education a right of all, not a privilege for the few.

The connection between the CEGEP teachers' struggle and the general assault of the Quebec government upon public sector workers in becoming increasingly evident. To get back the right to strike, to regain local control over classification, to win control over course content and administration of the schools, the teachers need the all-out support of the entire labor movement. If the government can enforce declassification of the teachers, a major battle in the war against anti-labor repression will have been lost.

Abortion fight heats up

labor Challenge
#79 May 1973

by LAURA ELIOT

Support for the repeal of Canada's abortion laws continues to grow across the country. In its delegated conference, held May 11-13, the Montreal Labor Council, a body representing 100,000 members of the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ), voted to endorse the activities of Le Front Commun pour l'Abrogation des Lois sur l'Avortement: (Common Front for Repeal of the Abortion Laws). Earlier, Labor Council president Marcel Perreault stated that he felt abortion should be a "personal matter" and also called for the dropping charges against Dr. Henry Morgentaler, the Montreal physician currently facing possible life imprisonment for performing or conspiring to perform illegal abortions.

Much of the activity of the Common Front has centered on building a defense campaign for Dr. Morgentaler. Both the Common Front and the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal Abortion Laws in English Canada are circulating petitions calling for the dropping of charges against Dr. Morgentaler, as part of the cross-country campaign to repeal the abortion laws.

Recently television viewers across the country had a chance to see Dr. Morgentaler at work in his Montreal clinic. On May 13 to CTV network public affairs program W5 showed Dr. Morgentaler performing an illegal abortion on Petra Hartt, an Ottawa woman. The abortion, lasting six minutes, was strikingly safe and easy. Contrasted to it were two pictures of mutilated women's bodies, victims of butcher abortions. The program was a powerful call for legalized abortion.

While sections of the mass media, such as W5, Maclean's Magazine and Chatelaine, are beginning to recognize growing popular support for repeal of the antiquated and repressive abortion laws, reactionary forces headed by the Catholic church are escalating their campaign against this woman's right.

These anti-abortion forces held a number of demonstrationsacross the country on Mother's Day, calling for legal rights to fetuses. A delegation to Ottawa May 9 presented petitions bearing 353,652 signatures calling on the government to tighten its present restrictive laws even further, allowing abortions only when "the life of the mother is in danger." This stand is similar to that reaffirmed recently by the 26th Anglican General Synod meeting in Regina. The Anglican Synod called on the government to enforce its laws on abortion more rigidly so that abortion "will not be available on demand."

photo by Quebec-Presse/Michel Elliott

FOR ABORTION LAW REPEAL. Sign in foreground at Montreal demonstration reads: "If Trudeau were pregnant, would he go to a quack?"

The May 9 anti-abortion delegation was given a sympathetic hearing in Ottawa by Prime Minister Trudeau, Justice Minister Otto Lang and others in the government cabinet. Once again Trudeau and Lang have shown where they stand on this issue. These government heads have repeatedly refused to meet delegations from the abortion repeal movement. They have consistently allied themselves with a reactionary minority bent on imposing its views on a majority of Canadians.

The position of the anti-abortion forces, while held by a minority in this country, is, nevertheless, a serious challenge to those who support abortion as a woman's right. They would push Canada back to the days when all abortions were illegal, when backstreet, butcher abortions were the sole recourse for desperate women.

But more and more Canadians are making their own views known — and they contrast sharply with those of Trudeau and the other anti-abortion forces. A recent poll conducted by MP Ian Arrol in York East once again made this clear. Of the 2,500 of his constitutents polled, 75 percent indicated their support for "easier" abortion laws. Arrol's comments on the questionnaire are significant. "I was surprised that such a large percentage voted in favor of easier abortion laws," he said. "Most letters I receive are against abortion, a situation, which, I now realize, is probably more the result of a very active anti-abortion lobby, than an expression of general opinion."

But it was precisely that 'general opinion' that the producers of W5 were responding to when they carried the program on Dr. Morgentaler's clinic. And it is that public support which is being organized by the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal Abortion Laws as it moves towards a cross-country Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception and Sterilization planned for Ottawa in November. The tribunal is to be a form of trial of those opponents of a woman's right to control her reproductive life. Government and so-called "Right to Life" figures are expected to be among the top ten found most guilty.

labor Challenge

In Brief

EDMONTON WOMEN'S CENTER EXCLUDES YOUNG SOCIALISTS

At a meeting on May 7 Young Socialist women were excluded from the Edmonton Women's Center, a central meeting place for Edmonton feminists. No member of the Young Socialists was present when the decision was made. A Young Socialist woman, arriving late at the meeting, was informed of the decision and told that any further discussion of the matter was impossible.

While charges against the YS women were not clarified some women justified the exclusion on the basis that the YS women belonged to a "male organization" and wished to recruit to it, that the women's movement had a "separate ideology", apparently exclusive of the views of the Young Socialists, that YS women "could not be trusted".

A statement signed by women of the Young Socialists and League for Socialist Action challenges this undemocratic exclusion. If belonging to a "male organization" is grounds for exclusion, the statement asks, "does this also mean that women who belong to the NDP, the Kraft Boycott Committee, a trade union or any other mixed group in society cannot participate in the women's center or will be considered outside the feminist movement?"

"The real reason for our exclusion," the statement notes, "is to exclude our ideas from the women's movement. . . . . Women cannot build a movement to free themselves unless there is a democratic method and a democratic movement which can bring together all women in their common struggle for their liberation. We insist on the immediate retraction of our exclusion in the interests of the democratic character and unity of the women's movement."

WOUNDED KNEE OCCUPATION ENDS

On May 7 a settlement was announced ending the historic occupation of Wounded Knee by Oglala Sioux and members of the American Indian Movement (AIM). Wounded Knee, scene in 1890 of one of the bloodiest massacres perpetrated by the U.S. government in its seizure of Indian territories, has become a symbol to Indians all across North America of their growing resistance to racial oppression.

In the course of the 70-day occupation of Wounded Knee two occupants of the South Dakota hamlet were murdered by federal gunfire. When the Indian occupants laid down their weapons on May 8, thirty of them were arrested by government agents. The legal office handling their defense estimates that bail will exceed half a million dollars.

The negotiated agreement ending the occupation commits the government to auditing the finances of Chief Richard Wilson's government-backed tribal government and to the investigation of civil rights violations.

Further talks are scheduled between White House advisors and traditional Sioux chiefs and headmen, centered on the 1868 treaty which gave the Sioux all the land of the former Dakota territory west of the Missouri. But imprisoned AIM and Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization leaders will not be allowed to participate in the negotiations.

Unresolved is the key question behind the takeover from the beginning: whether the people of the Pine Ridge Reservation on which Wounded Knee is located, will be allowed to choose their own form of government.

A petition circulated in early March gained the required number of signatures to require a referendum on revocation of the tribal system of government imposed on American Indians in 1934. Yet this simple democratic procedure, which requires only the implementation of existing regulations, has been continually blocked by Wilson and the White House.

The struggle for Indian rights that motivated the seizure, and increasingly is moving Indians all across the continent into action, continues.

labor Challenge #79

Editorial

Quebec three freed

Having served a full third of their one-year sentences for contempt of court, Quebec's three union presidents were released from jail May 16 — almost a year to the day after last year's massive labor upsurge in response to their original imprisonment, and two weeks after tens of thousands of Quebecois workers thronged the streets in mass demonstrations for their release.

Resisting widescale and growing demands for their liberation, from around the world and many layers of Quebec society, the Bourassa government waited until they were eligible for parole by the normal terms of the law.

Even now, the presidents are subject to a series of petty, vindictive restrictions: unable to make statements concerning their jailing, subject to imprisonment again at the whim of the cabinet, and unable to leave Quebec without official permission (this must be the only time the Bourassa government has chosen to exercise such direct national "sovereignty").

But their release was a victory, although partial. As the above conditions indicate, the government would have them serve full time if it could. Their jailing was intended to intimidate all working people, not only in Quebec but throughout Canada. The Supreme Court in Ottawa had refused even to hear the trade unionists' appeals against their scandalous sentences. The ruling class wanted to tell us that the law decides, not mass struggle. The presidents' release, under the pressure of the mass movement, tells us otherwise.

The task now is to carry forward the momentum of this struggle, in a mass campaign across the country in defense of the Quebec teachers and other workers threatened by the antilabor measures of the Bourassa government.

Teachers' union president Yvon Charbonneau spoke for all labor when asked if his jail term had changed his mind about defying unjust laws. Not at all, he replied. "If my union mandate required me to recommend the commission of illegal acts, I would do so again . . . In any case legality in these matters will always be contested by our adversaries. I'm going to follow a line of legitimacy rather than of legalism."

Those are good sentiments. They could serve as any militant's answer to Bourassa and his ilk.

Israel a trap for Jews

As the tanks rolled down the streets of Jerusalem to celebrate Israel's 25th anniversary, the media, politicians and public figures speculated on the accomplishments of the Zionist state's first quarter century. Two Canadians' comments are of particular importance for Canadian workers.

Peace will eventually occur in the Mideast because of Israel's "understanding and enlightened" policy towards the Arabs in the area it controls said Dennis McDermott, Canadian Director of the United Auto Workers, following his two-week visit to Israel.

And NDP leader David Lewis during a previous visit declared that he agrees with Israel's refusal to give up the territory it conquered during the 1967 war, except as part of an overall settlement.

There is no peace in the Mideast today — and the responsibility lies solely with Israel. It has carried out raid after raid against the Arab countries, designed to demonstrate its military might and to terrorize the Arab masses.

Under Israeli pressure, the Arab regimes have moved to assert control over the Palestinian resistance movement. At the same time as the anniversary celebrations were taking place, Lebanese forces were launching murderous assaults on Palestinian refugee camps throughout the country, using artillery, tanks and planes. In this, the Lebanese regime was aping Jordan's King Hussein, whose forces slaughtered up to 10,000 Palestinians in 1970.

Contrary to Lewis and McDermott, Israel offers no solution for the Mideast. In fact, it lies at the heart of the problem. Established in 1948 as a beachhead to protect the highly lucrative imperialist investments in the region, it expelled the native Palestinian population from their homeland in order to set up a state based on religious bigotry and chauvinism. Today Israel is an imperialist power, a militarist, expansionist force. It acts to keep the Arab masses in check. Internally, it suffers the same problems as other capitalist states — inflation, exploitation, inequality, and racism (directed not only against the Arabs but also against the Oriental Jews). Israel can exist only in a state of permanent war with the Arabs surrounding it.

The only course which offers a lasting solution for the Middle East lies not in the "peace" of Israeli domination, but in the development of the national liberation struggle against Zionism. For this struggle to be victorious, it will have to be directed also against the Arab regimes, who, despite their demagogy, have proven that they will combat any threat of social revolution just as vigorously as the Israeli rulers. In the final analysis, they will fight to maintain the privileges they derive from their ties to imperialism, against any threat from below.

The founders of Israel have not established a secure homeland for the Jewish masses, but have instead led them into a terrible trap. The only solution for the Jews also lies in the fight against the Zionist state, for its replacement with a democratic and secular Palestine, and for the expulsion of imperialist interests from the entire region.

labor Challenge #19 May 1973

Review: The Strikebreakers

Mass action needed to defend labor

by RON HAYWOOD

In our "civilized" society, say the mass circulation dailies, trade unions occupy their "rightful place" alongside corporations and governments — all contributing to the "responsible" functioning of society. When the inevitable friction between bosses and workers erupts into open conflict, the big business media charge that the "big unions" have become "too powerful" and have tipped the delicate "balance" in favor of the unions.

What are the facts?

Marc Zwelling, in a book commissioned by the Ontario Federation of Labor (OFL) and the Labor Council of Metropolitan Toronto entitled "The Strikebreakers" refutes the boss-inspired view.

Zwelling, representative of District 6 of the United Steelworkers of America and formerly a reporter for the Toronto Telegram, notes that unemployment accounts for 34 times as many lost workdays as strikes. Even Compensation Board reports indicate the time lost to injuries and sickness is 10 times that due to strikes.

But the main purpose of his work is not so much to debate who is responsible for strikes as to investigate increasing attempts by companies to smash strikes by employing professional strikebreaking services from companies whose sole business is scabbing and breaking strikes.

One such company has had trucks running cargo out and scabs in for corporations in the petroleum, electrical products, chemicals, automotive products, construction and computer industries.

Strikers at Dare Cookies are perhaps the best known current example of workers facing strikebreakers. Workers at Kenroc tools, Texpack, Redpath Sugar, Gidon Industries and Johns-Manville among many others have faced the same scab-induced picket line violence.

Pointing out that strikebreaking is as old as workers' attempts to organize themselves. Zwelling refers back to 1892 and steel mogul Andrew Carnegie's hiring of a Pinkerton force of 300 to smash a strike of steelworkers in Homestead, Pennsylvania. Thirty-five died in the clashes, the strike was broken and the steel mill remained non-union until 44 years later.

Pinkerton, still the largest outfit in the "security guard" business, specialized in intimidating, spying on and scabbing on workers. During the 1930s they claimed 100 union officials on their spy payroll, including one national vice-president. The Wackenhut Corporation, a private police force, absorbed three Canadian private investigation and security guard forces in 1971. George Wackenhut, a former FBI man, has leading spokesmen for the John Birch Society on his Board of Directors. He has Ontario government contracts.

Richard Grange, owner of Canadian Driver Pool and assorted dummy companies, has attracted the most attention from the labor movement, however. A local petty criminal(breaking and entering and theft), Grange branched into the more lucrative field of strikebreaking. Offering sophisticated electronic equipment and "know-how" to bosses facing a potential strike, Grange in fact relies more on spies, clubs and guns to "get the job done."

A study by the OFL in early 1972 indicated that 50 strikes in Ontario have been broken by strikebreakers since 1965. Workers now face, in the eyes of the OFL, a growing threat from professional strikebreakers as well as the traditional enemies — plant shutdowns, high unemployment, and record inflation. All this at a time of skyrocketing corporation profits.

What are the strikebreakers' tactics?

The "Mohawk Valley Formula" devised by a former president of Remington Rand and circulated by the U.S. National Association of Manufacturers describes the steps to be taken to smash a union. Zwelling comments, ". . . it is still a viable textbook for strikebreaking which with few refinements is being used by Canadian employers." The formula says to "label the union leaders as 'agitators' "; "raise high the banner of 'law and order' "; "bring about the formation of a large armed police force to intimidate the strikers"; "heighten

→p. 2

photo by Paul Wy

SOLIDARITY WITH DARE STRIKERS was April 14 in Kitchener, Ont. against professi
message of 1,200 workers who demonstrated strikebreakers and antilabor injunctions.

p. 2

the demoralizing effect by a 'back-to-work' movement"; "have the employees march into the plant grounds in a massed group protected by squads of armed police"; "close the publicity barrage on the theme that the plant is in full operation and that the strikers were merely a small minority attempting to interfere with the right to work."

The Canadian Manufacturers Association (CMA) uses these tactics — and the "services" of Richard Grange. Two past CMA presidents have hired Grange's goons and the CMA has written Grange that they are "behind him 100 per cent."

Zwelling realizes that the strikebreakers have much more than just the companies on their side. In a chapter entitled "With a Lot of Help from my Friends" he describes how strikebreaking companies were ". . . formed under the nose — or under the wing — of the Ontario Department of Labor." Zwelling makes a convincing case that " .... those in government aiding him (Grange) include the Metropolitan Toronto Police, the Ontario Provincial Police, the court system, the Departments of Transportation, Labor, Financial and Commercial Affairs, and the office of the attorney-general." He gives examples of organized religion intimidating striking immigrant workers and given their "blessings" to scabs. Strikebreaking efforts by the media — radio, television and the press are cited.

Zwelling finds all this unjust and outrageous. What he fails to find is a connection between strikebreaking and the state. Despite all the evidence, he fails to conclude that all these bodes which attack the labor movement act in the interests of the capitalist class. Much of the text attacks the strikebreakers and their tactics — but it is written from the point of view that the employers too are taken advantage of by the Pinkertons and Granges. They would be better off, he suggests, if they would just sit down and negotiate reasonably with the unions. The strikebreakers, you see, are the vultures of the market place and do neither bosses nor workers any good. While Zwelling bitterly attacks the role of the cops on the picket line he proposes in his recommendations that labor "lobby for improved relations between strikers and police . . ." Strikebreakers cause trouble, he argues. When trouble comes so do the police. When police are at the picket line "other parts of the community are not served and protected." Zwelling's "serve and protect" quote comes after he has noted that "The Toronto Police Department's strike squad was merged in late 1971 with the intelligence division." He runs from the obvious.

More instructive to unionists is the mass upsurge of public sector workers in Quebec in May, 1972, which forced the release of their union leaders. There were also the militant mass mobilizations of workers during the organizing drives of the CIO Unions.

While Zwelling quotes NDP leader David Lewis that "The law of injunctions was never intended to apply to labor disputes," and while he calls for mass picketing to fight strikebreaking he declines to tell workers what to do when the injunction is inevitably awarded. Do we "lobby" the government?

Justice is not to be found in the courtroom. That is only the "justice" of the capitalist class. The justice of workers' struggles to protect their jobs, their working conditions and their union is not recognized by the courts.

Two strikes in Ontario in 1966 posed alternative methods for fighting strikebreakers and injunctions. In one case, Peterborough, the union opted to take its case to the courts. Twenty-five workers were found guilty of defying a court order and jailed. But in the other case, Oshawa workers build a mass picket line, ripped up the court order, stopped the scabs and won the strike in short order.

Zwelling's book provides workers with valuable information on the seamy tactics and brutal violence of strikebreakers — their connections with the top corporations, the assistance of the cops, the courts, the churches and government departments. But the book fails in two important respects. It fails to identify the state and demonstrate that it acts in the direct interests of the capitalist class. And it fails to arm workers with the weapons needed to combat the strikebreakers.

At the end of the book is a list of some 15 recommendations of the OFL and LCMT "strikebreaking committee." While some useful suggestions for action are included in the list, it fails to give prominence to mass action (number eight on their list), which must be the central form of action. The unions must rely on their own strength and their own numbers, using mass picketing and mass mobilizations of the whole labor movement, to defeat the strikebreakers.

labor Challenge #79

$24,000 by May 31

Almost there

by THE EDITORS

"Profits aren't everything for a big international corporation." So J.K. Finlayson, deputy chairman of the Royal Bank — which is both international and highly profitable — told a gathering of the Canada-United Kingdom Chamber of Commerce recently. Big companies won't survive, he said, if they don't cater to the social and other needs of the nations in which they operate. As for the Royal Bank, he claims it's developing an extensive information and teaching program for Canadian schools and consumer groups on the management of money and credit.

Recent reports on bank profits would indicate that the Royal Bank no doubt knows something about managing money. In fact, as a big imperialist corporation it manages to transfer great gobs of money from the pockets of working people into the pockets of Royal Bank shareholders — and on an international scale.

Given grocery prices these days, and the generally high rate of inflation, we suspect most Labor Challenge supporters are just managing to get by. And doubtless they aren't any more impressed than we are with the way the Royal Bank and the profit system caters to social needs.

Labor Challenge has money problems of its own. Profits aren't everything to Labor Challenge; in fact without our readers support we'd go a full $24,000 in the hole this year — at least.

That's why a few weeks ago we launched a fund drive, with the objective of raising $24,000 by May 31. And whatever the personal financial difficulties of our supporters they have recognised our needs. To this point they have raised over $18,000 — more than 75 percent of our goal.

There's only a few days left in the fund drive now. If you haven't contributed yet please do so. Send your cheque to Labor Challenge, P.O. Box 5595, Station A, Toronto 1, Ont.

Scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	REC'D
Vancouver	$7,200	$7,028
Edmonton	1,500	816
Winnipeg	750	17
Kitchener-Waterloo	200	115
Orillia	150	150
Ottawa	750	533
Hamilton	200	—
Toronto	13,000	9,445
YS	500	—
General	200	225
TOTAL	$24,450	$18,329

Enclosed is $ ..... as my contribution to the Labor Challenge fund drive.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... **ZONE** ..... **PROV** .....

labor Challenge #19

Dare workers call demonstration

Busloads of workers from Toronto, Ottawa, Hamilton, London, Guelph, Windsor, Sarnia, Brantford and other Ontario centers will converge on Kitchener on May 26. They will demonstrate in solidarity with workers of Local 173 of the United Brewery Workers, which since May of 1972 has been striking Dare foods in Kitchener. Organizers predict 10,000 supporters will protest the threatened month-end decertification of the union.

The workers demands are straightforward: end antilabor injunctions, strikebreaking and jailing of strike leaders, equal pay increases for male and female workers, a 40-hour week, and a pay scale up to $2.75 per hour.

From the outset, the militancy of the Dare workers has been exemplary. The courts, the cops and the company have in the course of the strike employed some of the most ruthless strikebreaking tactics in the history of labor struggles in Ontario. Court injunctions have limited picketing; Canada Manpower has actively recruited scabs for Dare; the collusion of the company and police has been obvious. Six members of the union have been sentenced to 60 days in jail for no more than resisting this full-scale attack on their rights.

The Dare workers confront an employer intent not on negotiating, but on smashing their union. Canadian Driver Pool, the notorious professional strikebreaking outfit owned by Richard Grange has been herding scabs into the Dare plant and trucking cargo out. Since 1965 50 Ontario strikes have been broken through the use of professional scabs.

Key to the struggle is Dare's sexist discrimination against women workers. The company's pathetic wage offer would increase the wage differential between male and female Dare workers by another 10 cents. The Dare strike has become not only the cause of the entire labor movement, but also of women's liberationists across the province and the country.

The issues of the Dare strike are of key concern to every working person in Ontario. Equal pay for women, and the right of workers to organize and strike free of the interference of the government and their cops and courts, and professional strikebreaking companies are at stake. The Dare workers pointed the way forward when on April 14 they mobilized 1,200 supporters in Kitchener in defense of their rights.

It is only through a massive campaign, a massive demonstration on May 26, and the continued mobilization of working people across the province in solidarity with the Dare workers that the unions decertification can be prevented. If it is to succeed, the responsibility for organizing that campaign must be taken up by the Ontario Federation of Labor and the New Democratic Party. Their failure to mount such a campaign could only be understood as the most wretched betrayal not only of the Dare workers, but working people throughout Ontario.

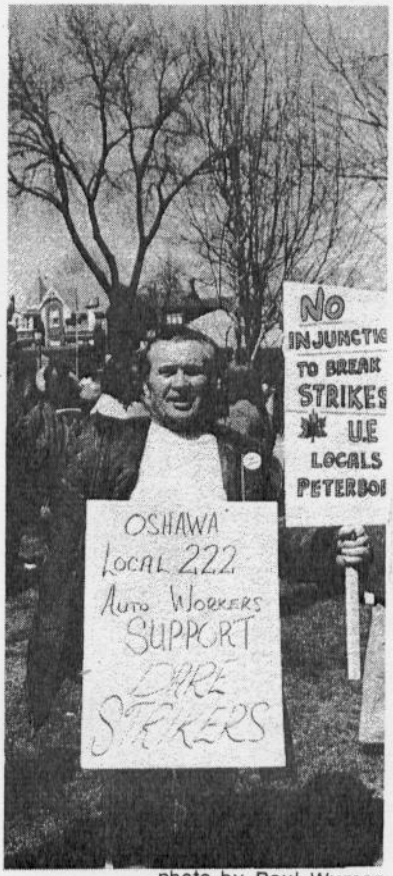


photo by Paul Wyman

labor Challenge #79 May 1973

Challenge to Ontario Left Caucus conference

For a class struggle strategy in NDP

by JOHN STEELE

Socialists in the Ontario NDP organized in the Left Caucus will meet May 26-27 in Toronto to discuss their participation in the July federal NDP convention.

As the only organized socialist opposition within the NDP, the Left Caucus can have a decisive effect on efforts to advance class struggle policies at the federal convention.

The Left Caucus emerged in August 1972 from the dramatic struggle in the Ontario NDP to defend the Waffle from the attempt by the Lewis leadership to drive it out of the party. When the Waffle leadership broke from the NDP a sizeable number of previous Waffle supporters decided to "stay and fight" — that is to continue the best tradition of the Waffle as a broad, non-exclusive left wing fighting for socialist policies.

This tradition was carried forward in the Left Caucus's intervention in the December ODNP convention. However, since that time the Left Caucus has lost considerable ground. It has failed to broaden or even maintain its previous connections with rank and file militants in the NDP. It has narrowed its programmatic appeal, a majority of its steering committee attempting to project the caucus as little more than a sterile sectarian and ultraleft grouping denouncing the NDP from the sidelines, without projecting any platform of demands to mobilize the NDP ranks in actions independent of the party bureaucracy.

A discussion paper currently being circulated in the Left Caucus attempts to project a different course. The paper, titled "For a Broad Socialist Opposition at the Federal NDP Convention," is signed by Liz Barkley and Julie Tolentino from the St. Davids executive, Howard Brown from the St. Andrew-St. Patrick riding and Rozi Doctorow, York Mills Provincial Council delegate, all of Toronto.

The paper reaffirms the broad non-exclusive perspective adopted by the Left Caucus at its founding. "A socialist opposition of any significance must be inclusive. It must be open to all those New Democrats and affiliated trade unionists willing to take action on the most important issues facing the party, against the policies of the leadership. Socialists in the NDP have to strive for genuinely non-exclusive coalitions of NDP members and unionists around a clear program of class-struggle demands . . . "

Such a caucus, the paper warns, must not be limited to "supporters of a specific revolutionary point of view. The program must strive to unite NDPers who differ in ideological point of view and degree of understanding of the character of the NDP leadership and of the future course of the Canadian socialist movement — but who agree on what must be done **now** in the NDP to oppose the leadership's course and advance a socialist alternative."

The paper challenges the caucus to organize for the convention by "picking up the issues" before the NDP. It calls on the NDP to adopt a program on unemployment and inflation which breaks from the framework of defending capitalist profits and points to the need for socialism. This includes such demands as a progressive reduction of the work week without pay reductions "beginnig now with 30 hours work at 40 hours pay." It calls on the NDP to back union demands for automatic wage increases pegged to increases in the cost of living; to force the corporations to open their books; encourage farmers, workers and housewives to organize price investigation committees; to demand nationalization of the food processing industry under workers control; public ownership of runaway plants and opposition to all forms of incomes policies or wage controls.

The NDP must adopt a "clear policy placing resources in Canada under the control of the working people" within the framework of a planned economy. This question is immediately posed around the Mackenzie pipeline, Churchill and James Bay projects where the defense of native people's interests should be uppermost.

The increasing use of antilabor legislation to limit the right to strike is underscored with the demand that the "NDP refuse to participate in any attempt to limit trade union rights" and "stand unequivocally against any curbs on the right to strike and any form of compulsory arbitration for any group of workers." Where it has taken office as in B.C. the party must wipe antilabor laws like Bill 33 off the books." A campaign of this kind at the federal convention could be broadened to include teachers and hospital workers in Ontario, Quebec and elsewhere, who are facing specific antistrike laws like Quebec's Bill 89. The paper calls for formation of a labor caucus at the convention to fight for these policies.

→2

labor Challenge #79

p. 2

The B.C. NDP women's rights committee which is winning growing support from rank and file women in the B.C. NDP, has issued a call for a women's caucus at the federal convention to fight for feminist demands. A powerful focus for such a woman's caucus is the fight to take abortion out of the criminal code. The convention must be challenged to back the case of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Montreal New Democrat who faces life imprisonment for performing illegal abortions, and to support the coming fall Tribunal of the Canadian Woman's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, designed to publicize the injustice of the law. Also high on the agenda of the feminist struggle at the convention will be the demand from the B.C. NDP women's rights committee for the convening of a federal conference of women in the NDP.

In the context of the explosive labor upsurges and the intensified struggles for national rights that have shaken Quebec since the 1971 federal convention, the paper underscores the responsibility of socialists in the NDP to fight against the leadership's rejection of a principled stand in support of the right of self-determination of the Quebec nation.

The programmatic portion of the paper concludes by demanding that the NDP "take a firm stand behind those people struggling against imperialist domination" by renewing the demand for complete U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia, an end to the bombing, the withdrawal of Canada from the ICCS and the return of Canadian forces from Indochina. "The party must extend this anti-imperialist position by campaigning for Canadian withdrawal from all imperialist alliances like NATO, NORAD and giving no support to the Organization of American States."

NDP MUST CAMPAIGN against all antilabor laws, stop parliamentary caucus's support of strikebreaking.

A sharply different perspective is offered by another position paper, a draft "manifesto" being circulated in the Left Caucus. It is supported by some prominent Left Caucus leaders like Steve Penner, an ONDP provincial executive member. They hope to have the "manifesto" adopted by the May 26-27 conference.

Over half the "manifesto" is devoted to an extensive and far-reaching critique of the NDP leadership's sellout of labor and mass struggles in the past. While making some valid points, it hardly constitutes the necessary basis of agreement for a broad struggle for socialist policies in the party today. It would limit the caucus to those who agree with this historical evaluation of the NDP leadership, and render the caucus incapable of playing a role in building a broad socialist class struggle opposition at the federal convention.

An analysis of the inadequacies and betrayals of Social Democracy is valuable and necessary for Canadian socialists (although the manifesto's attempt to do this falls far short of a rounded revolutionary analysis). But the concrete task in the NDP today is not to ask the revolutionaries to stand up and be counted (only a small number of NDPers would respond, unfortunately), but rather to project a concrete program of class struggle demands and campaigns which broad layers of the party ranks can identify with and will be prepared to mobilize around.

Yet when the proposed manifesto gets around to projecting a platform of demands, it seldom leaves the realm of abstraction. Few concrete demands are projected capable of widening the appeal and base of the caucus.

The record of the NDP's bureaucratic reformist leadership indicates that it is incapable of meeting such demands as those contained in the discussion paper cited earlier. They are committed to reforming capitalism, trying to make it work better, rather than striving for fundamental social change. Yet it is not by denunciations and abstract analysis, but in the actual struggle around such demands that the bankruptcy of this leadership will be exposed and the need for a new, class struggle leadership, posed. Placing program in the background simply lets the NDP and trade union bureaucracy off the hook.

The programmatic questions before the NDP convention are immediate and concrete. The task is to work them into resolution form, circulate them in riding associations and affiliated union locals across the country, organize support for them and elect delegates to take them to the convention.

Supporters of the Left Caucus in Ontario must begin this work in earnest at the May 26-27 conference, by rejecting the sectarian drift of the caucus and reaffirming its character, established at its founding, as a broad non-exclusive grouping of socialists in the NDP fighting for class struggle policies.

#19 May 1973

Fascist danger in Chile

Right wing prepares for civil war

The following article is reprinted from Intercontinental Press. Hugo Blanco, a Peruvian Trotskyist leader, was sentenced to twenty-five years in prison as a result of his work in organizing peasant unions in the early 1960s. He was released from prison in 1970, after serving eight years. In 1971 he was deported to Mexico because of his revolutionary activity. He is currently living in exile in Chile.

by HUGO BLANCO

SANTIAGO — Along with the strengthening of the right wing inside the Unidad Popular government a strengthening of fascism is also occurring.

Of the two best-known organizations that represent fascism in Chile, Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Freedom) and "Rolando Matus," it is the former that might have pretensions of being respectable.

Its full name is Frente Nacionalista Patria y Libertad (Nationalist Front for Fatherland and Freedom). It was formed two years ago. Its founder and general secretary, Roberto Thieme, died in an accident last February 23 while (in the words of his cothinkers) "carrying out a patrol in the province of Concepcion." Another of its "heroes," Hector Castillo Fuentealba, is honored as having been "murdered by a socialist activist in Chillan on December 20, 1972."

This group has a higher degree of organization, discipline, armed preparation, and determination than any other Chilean party, whether of the left or the right.

In spite of its small size, it has public headquarters (no one knows how many clandestine ones) and a newspaper, Patria y Libertad. Its "swastika" is a stylized spider.

It has already carried out many "actions," primarily against squatters in marginal areas, in cases where hoarding of goods had been uncovered, or when homeless persons have taken over unused land. In these cases, or when certain factories have been occupied, members of the group have functioned as shock troops for the capitalists. They also carried out a great deal of activity during the election campaign, storming the headquarters of left-wing parties or using firearms to attack propaganda teams of these parties. On such occasions, they were joined by members of other right-wing parties, such as the National party and the Christian Democracy.

Patria y Libertad feels that "there is no political solution" for the present situation in Chile.

At the end of March it stated:

"With this second anniversary, we are holding the first national gathering of our leaders, with provincial heads from the entire country also in attendance. This will be the best opportunity for us to redouble our faith in nationalism and to prepare ourselves, with greater self-sacrifice than ever, for the great battle that awaits us in the immediate future. Every day brings the day of liberation closer. This is a day not to be waited for but to fight for. It will be we nationalists who will return dignity, freedom, and a future to our captive fatherland."

The gathering was dubbed the Expanded National Council. The main agreement reached was operation SACO (Sistema de Accion Civica Organizada — System of Organized Civic Action). The internal document explaining this operation could not be kept secret — or (more likely) Patria y Libertad "leaked" it so that it would be given wide circulation.

The following are the main points of the "black commands," as they are now known:

For professionals who work in the Social Sector of the economy (companies that have been taken over by the state):

"Make a brief report on the firm's financing and the banks where money is deposited, as well as the persons in charge of the depositing, and to the extent possible on the firm's monthly financial status .... Draw up a list of stocks and supplies, and the names of the respective importers and the usual suppliers .... Draw up a list of the kind of machines that are used, detailing the sources of energy, water, or fuel and the emergency electrical plants ....

"Do not teach their technological methods or their codes .... Do not report their experiments to the UP.... Do not train anyone in the UP.... Remove plans and manuals dealing with their projected and present operations and maintenance, and in cases where this is not possible, create chaos in the archives. If you are involved in planning, raise the margin of certainty for every estimate and quantity .... Call for the maximum possible number of accessories, and the minimum possible amount of information (memory) .... Increase the personnel involved in 'dead work,' administrative aides, day laborers, and service personnel, without rationalizing activities or mechanizing the work that is performed ...."

For private contractors:

"Under legal pretexts, let the contracts of Marxist workers or employees lapse if they are constantly attempting to form cells that are preparing to take over the company .... Industrialists will have to win over their workers through pledges that involve small cost to the company .... Lunch, coffee break, etc., and small breakfasts for those who live furthest away .... Work ...es, vacation retreats, emergency funds, scholarships for children of the most outstanding workers, free time for going to school, help in paying for books and for enrolling to obtain

→p. 2

training . . . .

"The industrialist will have to do business preferentially, and later exclusively, with the democratic clients included on the list provided by the coordination center . . . . In cases where state-run companies exert pressure to bring about sale of a product, payment in cash will be required, partial deliveries of the goods will be made, and increased prices will be charged . . . . The distribution of products will be entrusted only to democratic distributors; in case of state repression, only products of lower quality and in lesser quantity will be delivered to the social sector, and this will be done with delays and dragged-out negotiations over the matter . . . .

"In case of illegal take-overs of plants, the owner will notify the coordination center in advance of all details and the names and addresses of the leaders, etc., and the appropriate protective mechanism will be provided . . . ."

For ranchers:

"Draw up a sketch with the location of the property and access roads, paths, crossings, and tracks that can be used as alternatives in blocking roads . . . . Lists of their own available means of transportation, or hired trucks capable of carrying freight (preferably with fully licensed drivers) . . . . Reports on the type, frequency, and schedule of stations for overhauling and repairing the same . . . . Volunteers for organizing a system of signs and road patrols that can facilitate the moving of transport . . . . Attempts could be made to enlist the cooperation of private planes and ham radio operators in perfecting the system . . . .

"Produce basic foods — beans, lentils, chick-peas, potatoes, corn, etc. — in the best soil and in small plots that are not liable to be detected, but that produce a high yield and high quality . . . . Furnish SOCOAGRO (state distribution agency) with false reports on the yield per plot and the possibilities of the property. It will be necessary to give the impression of cooperating in order to obtain allowances and other credits, but the major part of what is produced will be delivered through SACO . . . .

"Form self-defense nuclei and an information system by means of loyal workers who infiltrate the peasant settlements and the estates that have been expropriated throughout the zone. Reinforcement nuclei will be set up in the towns together with a warning system involving the cooperation of civil servants in financial bodies . . . . Activists in the UP (FTR-MIR (Frente de Trabajadores Revolucionarios-Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria — Front of Revolutionary Workers-Movement of the Revolutionary Left)) will be identified, and they will be subjected to constant surveillance and possible psychological or physical intimidation."

For neighbors:

"Fathers will instruct their children in detail about the meaning of totalitarianism, using oral and graphic examples of it throughout the world, and they will indicate to their children who the Marxist totalitarian agents are so that they can avoid physical contact with them and isolate them. . . . On a permanent basis they will make them read about or will call their attention to the daily brutality of Marxism, using a wide number of examples to teach them about the unsuitability of the dogma. . . .

"SACO section heads will get from their neighbors the location of cells and the meeting places for pro-UP businessmen, for the JAP (Juntas de Abastecimiento y Control de Precios — Supply and Price Control Boards), and for distributing rationed goods; the names and nicknames of militants and their movements, places of operation, etc. . . .

"Sustained campaigns involving psychological intimidation will be carried out, using slogans and propaganda aimed at UP militants, as well as rumors and scare stories aimed at UP women and their children; these will be furnished by SACO. . . . Follow a policy of ill will: Offer no transportation to UP people; give no aid to UP people; do not lend to, obtain from, speak to, compete with, or maintain friendly relations with UP people. . . . Boycott the directives of the UP Neighborhood Boards with perfectly organized groups whose aims are clear and precise."

As can be seen, fascism is formulating its line of action with ever-increasing clarity. In its lexicon — in addition to the special meaning it gives to concepts like "democracy" (i.e., the international right) and "totalitarianism" — UP means the entire left and every individual worker, student, or squatter in the vanguard. "Unionists" are those who participated in the bosses' strike last October. The front page of the latest issue of Patria y Libertad carried the following headline: "Nationalism, Unionism, and Armed Forces: The Only Alternatives for Power."

The Christian Democracy bemoans the "irresponsibility of Patria y Libertad" and whiningly asks a few questions: "1) If the political process is blocked by the institutional deadlock, what are their feelings about continuing to adhere to democratic principles? 2) If the political process becomes blocked, do they propose straightforwardly a coup d'etat against Allende? 3) Are they in a position to perform such a coup by themselves, or do they expect the armed forces to take part in it? 4) Do they believe, if they are in their right mind, that the armed forces would carry out a coup d'etat in Chile? And if they do believe this, do they think that the armed forces would do it on behalf of their movement?"

This sniveling is not preventing the Christian Democracy's members from being polarized in the direction of Patria y Libertad, whic they definitely feel is more "in its right mind" than Frei or Tomic.

Although the UP denounces certain attacks by Patria y Libertad on inhabitants of marginal shantytowns, its position is confusionist. The government secretary general, Anibal Palma, for instance, denounced the attitude of squatters and workers participating in occupations as a plot by the MIR and Patria y Libertad. Statements of this kind confuse the people and can only work to the advantage of the fascist groups.

Only the strength of the organized workers, continuing their struggle without letting themselves be held back by vacillating and traitorous leaderships, can force fascism to retreat. The real accomplices of Patria y Libertad are not the workers who are mobilizing in defense of their interests. On the contrary, they are the worst enemy of fascism. The true accomplices are those who hold back and vilify this mobilization of the masses.

"After the Spring Convention, 1973"

Original hand notes and typed MS by Ross Dowson, with mixed page numbers, found together in 1973 "after Spring convention" Text re-assembled by editor, with bracketed notes by the editor.)

Young and Riddell in passing affirm that our orientation *(to the NDP –ed.)* is not one of entry. Elsewhere they say our movement rejects "entry "sui generis" *("of a special type" – a term denoting a deep liquidationist tactic as promoted by Pablo in Europe within the Fourth International at that time, in the 1950s—ed.)*

Within the framework of our orientation we have carried out an entry *(in the past)*. It is quite possible that we will once again be faced with the desirability even the necessity of carrying out another or other entries. This was a tactical innovation designed to build the revolutionary vanguard not conceived by Lenin, but legitimatized in the minds of some Leninists by Trotsky. It is very difficult to reject entry of a special type, unless one conceives that all tactical variations were worked out by Lenin and Trotsky. What the Canadian Trotskyists rejected was how the supporters of entry *sui generis* conceived of it in Canada – it was liquidationist into the reformist labor party – we also rejected it as we understood many of our European sections practised it. To be sure, our orientation is not one of entry – that's the sense (view) of Germain *(nom de plume of Ernest Mandel, one of the principal and veteran leaders of the F.I.)* and that premise is accepted by Riddell and Young.

But we should not pretend that our orientation, even if we were to accept it as a tactic and not a strategic concept, is not without some innovations, (but also consider) that the Canadian Trotskyists are functioning in the same way as many other Trotskyist groups and formations, such as the IMG in Britain with its labor party, or the SWP where there is no labor party formation, or as the Ligue Communiste (LCR, France) where there is a hardened social democratic party which seriously, it is even questioned could even be called a party of the working class, (exists). We think that our orientation is correct and instead of being beclouded with all kinds of formulations to present an "orthodox" front to comrades who do not understand the real problems of building the vanguard in Canada, should be patiently explained, should be defended and thus allow them to develop a deeper understanding of what we have achieved, and learn from the thinking of our co-thinkers.

A movement that directs all its forces to hold membership in the NDP where open membership in the LSA is proscribed and brings automatic expulsion often uses pseudonyms, does not raise the blood red banner of the Fourth International and parade around with the hammer and sickle on any and every opportunity. It does not declare here there and everywhere that it is the Canadian section of the Fourth International, it doesn't headline it…. while the LSA does publish the statements of the Fourth International often as information for its readers. In a word, it often gives up some of the form in order to all the better employ the substance.

(In their document entitled) "Some Starting Points for an NDP Debate" drawn up by Riddell and Young in their debate with Germain, one would anticipate an accurate presentation and explanation of our orientation to the NDP as we have practised it since 1961 and before that in the CCF when we concluded it became a labor party. Unfortunately they do not do so but adapt

to the pressure of Germain and as we will show, to the RCT's view *(RCT=Revolutionary Communist Tendency, within the LSA)* as presented by Gandall now in the RMG *(Revolutionary Marxist Group).*

At one point Riddell and Young contrast our orientation and its practice "with the disastrous record of entrism *sui generis*, and the record of the Canadian section, against this (so-called) erroneous line as it was applied in Canada (and we would add in Belgium) as recorded in a document written by R. Dowson and presented to the 1970 convention in the name of the political committee.

But first a few words about the "up-to-date and authoritative statement of the LSA/LSO leadership's policy." Insofar as the League's orientation to the NDP was expounded at the April 1973 convention it was done only in passing – within the broad and wide-ranging framework of the Political Resolution. There was no document presented by the leadership to the convention on this matter. While it was obvious that it was a matter of great contention very early in the pre-convention discussion, two proposals that the majority tendency in the leadership present its views were voted down. Several months before the convention when he learned from a discussion with comrade M.G. not yet in the RCT but moving rapidly in that direction, that he was preparing an extensive contribution on the NDP which was obviously a frontal attack on our orientation, Comrade Dowson of the United Tendency proposed that the leadership prepare a document defending our longstanding orientation and that time be allocated on the agenda for a full discussion. This motion was voted down by the majority.

There are many other things that could be said about this…. *(In their document)* "Some Starting Points for an NDP Debate," for instance that whole section that starts off "Comrade Germain expresses no opinion on whether the LSA is correct to utilize the tactic of critical support to the NDP," from which flows a tortured argument favoring critical support. Do Young and Riddell really believe that Germain opposes the Canadian Trotskyist movement having a position of critical support of the NDP in elections in this period, that he would oppose our fraction work in the NDP, etc? Germain is commenting on the forces that are such a pressure on Germain, because they lack the necessary understanding, will not understand, and will accept his – "if I'm ultra left – they are opportunist and tailist."

And what is this strange argument with Germain for instance in the right column on page 16? Can there be any question in anyone's mind that Germain does not consider the NDP to be a party of the workers? That it is a working class party? Can one honestly believe that Germain would oppose our giving critical support to the NDP? Or doing fraction work in it – working both within it and from outside it with our independent face?

What is this peculiar debate about Germain's early statement where he continues his attack on the (*Labor Challenge*) edit. "And he (Lenin) specifically lays down the **conditions for denouncing reformism** which had to accompany any such electoral support lest it lead the masses closer to the reformist fakers, the labor lieutenants of capital (to whom our comrades in Canada now refer to, for shame, as 'the party of the working people') instead of helping them free themselves from reformist illusions and traitors."

This would seem to us to be obviously an error in expression if Germain wrote in English or in translation if in French. For we are sure Germain knows the difference between the character of the leadership of a labor party formation and the character of the party – a differentiation which Young and Riddell we must say are smearing over when they continue the Political Resolution characterization of the NDP as a **social democratic** labor party. This (falls) fully prey to Germain's arguments that suppose the NDP is a direct homologue of the French SP (Socialist Party) *(one of the mass French left-wing parties with weak or no labor participation or control – ed.)*

And what is this about the poor formula employed by a YS *(Young Socialist, youth wing of the LSA)* leaflet writer who incidentally called the NDP "the party of the working people" but in passing, explaining how the radicalization in all its forms logically finds its expression in the NDP because it is a broad party reflecting the radicalization of the class. It *(the characterization of the NDP as 'social-democratic' –ed.*) would appear to us to be nothing but obfuscation *(being a loaded historical term implying an ideologically sophisticated – once-Marxist – latterly hardened reformist tendency – a characterization both inaccurate and overstated when applied to modern anti-revolutionary cautiously reform-minded labor-party leaderships such as the NDP–ed.)*

Riddell and Young in the light of this criticism may object that theirs is an insufficient document. We agree completely. We fully recognize that their document does not fully or accurately represent (our long-established positions.) Let's start the debate here in Canada and (they can) explain their course. Germain can tell us much.

We will venture a prediction. Despite a series of instances suggesting disagreement s with comrade Germain by Young and Riddell in their document, we are confident that Germain will find no real point of disagreement with it for the simple reason that it stands on the same position as comrade Germain and for that matter with the RCT and its ten points outlined earlier in this document.

(…. This is the line) that the Canadian Party of Labor probably the Maoists have; it was certainly the line that was advocated by Gandle as the position of the RCT.

The Riddell-Young contribution starts out immediately following the question "Is the NDP a 'Labor Party' by describing our orientation "to the NDP as a response to a major problem before Canadian Trotskyism – how to destroy the massive obstacle posed before the growth of the revolutionary vanguard by the social democratic leadership of the English Canadian labor movement."

(….) The leadership of the English Canadian labor movement is an obstacle only insofar as it controls the NDP and of course the trade union movement. But of course we are talking about the NDP and our orientation to it as a party. We would gather that this opening fundamental statement says that the NDP is a massive obstacle before the growth of the revolutionary vanguard party which we are attempting to build.

The next paragraph describes the NDP as a detour "in historic terms" and the second sentence in that paragraph puts the formation of the NDP in the same framework – "it was a historic step forward," however, "it continues in the absence of a revolutionary vanguard with mass working class influence, permitting the establishment of a labor party which was social democratic in character."

Do we consider the NDP to be an obstacle to the building of our movement, do we consider it to be a detour, that there is a direct road that we can point to in a meaningful way to the Canadian workers given that the document further down recognizes that the NDP has 75,000 direct members, 300,000 affiliated members and received 25% of the vote, is in political office in three of the country's ten provinces, and we are a tiny group of several score scattered across the country, half of them in Toronto.

This is completely one-sided presentation of our longstanding characterization of the NDP, which would of course be in harmony with critical support and fraction work but doesn't express our longstanding views. We have always said we support the NDP, that the formation *(.... Text missing)*

While in the spectrum of classical Marxist politics it can be said that the NDP is social democratic, we have not as a rule so characterized the NDP. We have called it a labor party, we have characterized it as a liberal reformist party. Heretofore we have challenged persons who have put the label social democratic to explain to us what they mean. Germain tells us what he means after he uses the term in the first section of the same document to describe the NDP. We are talking about a social democratic party with a program well to the right of even British social democracy, not to speak of the French and Italian socialist parties. We are talking about politicians who abhor revolution, extra-parliamentary struggles for overthrowing capitalism, and whose horizon is totally limited to that of winning reforms within the framework of capitalist economy and the bourgeois State. We are talking about people who are 100% in favour of class collaboration politically, economically and socially. In the best of cases a coming to power of the NDP (in Ottawa) would lead to what Trotsky called "a miserable comedy like the first MacDonald government in Britain. If things got worse it could lead to big defeats and demoralization of the working class; if a powerful revolutionary party does not exist to lead the workers' struggle beyond social democratic reforms and towards socialist revolution."

While there are many a-b-c truths in these two paragraphs, just how accurately do they describe the NDP in the Canadian context? The NDP became social democratic for J.R. and A.Y. when the radicalization moved out of the NDP, or pressured the ultralefts. Comrades J.R. and A.Y. check comrade Mandel when on the same page he warns us against leading the masses closer to "the reformist fakers, the labor lieutenants of capitalism (to whom our comrades now refer to, for shame, as 'the party of the working people.') We take him to task for drawing "an equal sign between the character of the reformist leadership of the NDP and the character of he party."

Comrades J.R. and A.Y. continue, and Comrade Germain (*Mandel –ed.)* agrees, we assume, that the NDP is **A** (our emphasis) party of the working class movement, in terms of its composition, its social roots, and the historic roots of its social democratic leadership. However they apologize for the Young Socialist leaflet writer for attempting to popularize this concept by

terming the NDP "a party of the working people," and continue: "Nevertheless the phrase attempted to express a correct and vital idea; the difference between the class character of the NDP and the parties of the bourgeoisie."

(….) Can our position of support, critical support of the NDP be said to be based on the simple fact that we understand that the NDP is a working class party – a party which is working class in its composition and social base? "This decisive characteristic," say J.R. and A.Y. "has led Leninists to speak of the 'working class character' of parties like the NDP, to refer to them as 'parties of he workers' movement' or as 'workers' parties.' From this J.R. and A.Y. conclude: "The analysis of the NDP as a party of the working class is the principled basis for critical support of the NDP…." (p. 27)

I *(R.D. --ed.)* challenged John R. to present a document outlining their new concepts on the NDP (they covered this question quite inadequately at the Spring convention)…. in the light of Dick's convention statement and Phil's subsequent statement to me that the coming plenum would dot the "i"s and cross the "t"s on this. John R. asked me to present a document on how the paper has violated the '71 document. I told him that this was an incorrect method – it was not for me to try to suck out their new concepts or corrections from hunting thru the paper – all the more that they have actually said that they are interpreting the '70 document.

A tendency (the United Tendency) has now been formed on the '70 document – in its statement it charges the leadership thru the edit board of changing the line behind the backs of the movement.

They wax eloquent over the fact that the tendency has not presented a detailed proof (they have now taken the stance that they have not re-interpreted the '70 document) – certain supporters of the L-T (Lenin-Trotsky) faction told Dick to cool it.

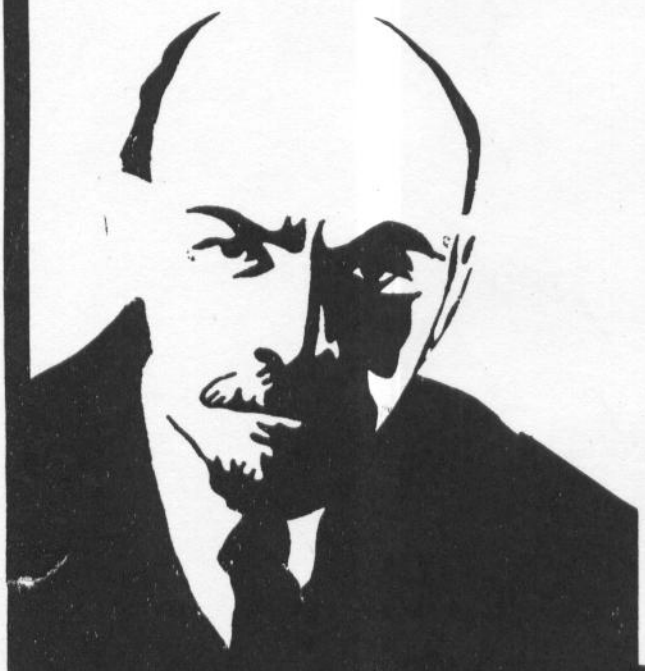
(end of notes)

1973 opening of CAMP POUNDMAKER

Sat.-Sun. June 16 & 17

Educational Weekend

Lenin and the Struggle Against National Oppression



Speaker: Tony Thomas

Tony Thomas has traveled extensively throughout the U.S. and Europe lecturing on Black liberation. Covered the April 1970 rebellion in Trinidad and the May 1972 strike wave in Québec as a correspondent for The Militant.

Contributor to the journal Black Scholar. Author of In Defense of Black Nationalism. Coauthor of: Black Liberation and Political Power; Two Views on Pan-Africanism; and Black Power in the Caribbean.

Special Classes, seminars, sports, swimming, campfires.....
A weekend of study and relaxation at the socialist summer camp in Central Ontario. Everyone is welcome, but registration is limited and will be on a first-come, first served basis. Cost to be announced.

Sponsors: League for Socialist Action & Young Socialists
for information contact 363-9618 or 364-4056

Ross Dowson
C/O Ruth or Lois Dowson
82 Mayfield
Toronto 762 4101

June 19, 1975

Toronto Room
Metropolitan Toronto Circulating Library

attention Ron Tynski

Dear Sirs;

I was happy to receive the message that you have arranged with the New York Public library to obtain a mierpfilm of the paper Workerr Voice for my examination. According to my informant it should be available at your offices around the end of June.

I am wondering if you would also obtain a copy of another microfilm for my examination. It is listed on the form- Canadian Labour Papers on Microfilm in the Department of Labour Library--Dept of Labour, Canada, June 1965, which you were so good as to give me a copy of.

The Worker, Toronto Clario Publishing Association, Mar 15, 1922 to April 28, 1936, superceded by Daily Clario and Clarion.

I gave you a few copies of this paper that I happened to come across but I see they have the whole run and I am anxious to really go over it.

I will contact you on Friday June 29 however any message to 762 4101 would get to me.

Thank you for your trouble.

sincerely

Ross Dowson

Watergate: Nixon's coverup

page 3

labor Challenge

JUNE 11, 1973
VOL. 4, NO. 10 [80]
25 CENTS

NDP to power June 28

Manitoba NDP must fight for socialism

by THE EDITORS

Manitoba premier Edward Schreyer and his NDP government have made strenuous efforts to placate business interests during their four years in office. But big business has made clear it is out to defeat the New Democratic Party in the June 28 provincial election.

The Winnipeg Free Press, organ of the powerful FP press chain which includes the Toronto Globe and Mail among its many holdings, is urging voters to unite behind the "free enterprise" candidate with the best chance of beating the NDPer. The opposition Conservatives and the Liberals, the parties of big business, are negotiating "no-contest" deals; at last report, in as many as 15 constituencies out of a total of 57, they will concentrate joint efforts behind a single candidate running against the NDP, in many cases against sitting cabinet ministers. Organizations with names like "Group for Good Government," obviously inspired by businessmen's groups and backed by seemingly unlimited funds, are churning out glossy literature aimed against the "socialists."

Big business defines the election, inaccurately, as a contest between "free enterprise" represented by the Tories and Liberals, and "socialism" said to be the philosophy of the NDP.

➔P2

AFTER FOUR YEARS THE ISSUES REMAIN

HIGH PRICES: Open the books of the food monopolies; nationalize the profiteers; for a sliding scale of wages geared to cost of living rise.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS: Abortion on demand in all Manitoba hospitals, clinics; support repeal of federal anti-abortion laws; Free 24-hour child-care facilities; Strict enforcement of equal pay laws.

NATIVE RIGHTS: Stop Churchill River diversion; Recognize aboriginal rights; Native priority in northern hiring.

RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT: Nationalize CFI and the mining industry; resource development based on public ownership.

UNEMPLOYMENT: Shorter work-week at same take-home pay; Public ownership of runaway plants, under workers control.

labor Challenge #80

p. 2

In reality the NDP's program no more represents socialism than the other parties, controlled by monopoly capital, may be said to favor "free" enterprise. What does distinguish them is that the NDP is based on, financed by, and ultimately responsible to the labor movement and the working people of Manitoba; while the Tories and Liberals — and in their wake the smaller rightwing Social Credit party — represent the same interests which stand resolutely in the way of all the struggles of the working people as they move out to challenge and end their exploitation and oppression.

That is why big business fights the NDP, seeking its defeat. And that is why Labor Challenge and the revolutionary socialists, while taking no responsibility for the Schreyer government and its record, stand for support of the NDP in this election.

Unfortunately, the Schreyer government has not advanced a program, either in this campaign or in its four years in office, that in any way challenges the power of the capitalist interests that really rule Manitoba.

The NDP government has legislated some reforms of benefit to working people, especially in the area of medicare, public housing and auto insurance. But even these very modest measures were often introduced hesitantly, and much watered-down from the original proposals. The Autopac legislation, for example, was severely amended under the pressure of a powerful lobby of private insurance corporations, against which the NDP leadership did nothing to mobilize the party ranks and labor movement as a whole.

Campaigning in 1969, the NDP denounced the Churchill Forest Industries giveaway; yet once in office, Schreyer continued to pump out some $136 million from the public treasury to unknown foreign financiers, while sweeping the issue under the rug through a royal commission which has not yet submitted its report.

The NDP government has alienated the hopes of many whose support was instrumental in electing the NDP four years ago. In 1969 the party campaigned on a program of recognition of native self-determination. Today the government rides roughshod over native opposition as it pushes ahead with the Churchill River diversion scheme, destroying the ecology and the livelihoods of entire native communities.

After three years in office, Schreyer's cabinet finally brought in some long overdue amendments to

see page 4

Big business out to defeat NDP

continued from page 1

the labor code that would aid many workers to organize in unions. But with them were other amendments empowering the legislature to smash strikes that hurt the "public interest," that make unions liable for damage suits, subject workers to fines and jail terms for illegal strikes, and that continue to withhold the right to strike from many government employees, including teachers.

Only months earlier, in February 1972, the Manitoba Federation of Labor, in a brief to the government, had accused it of "appalling neutrality in labor disputes" and charged that Schreyer himself is "employer-oriented." Of the 40 changes the MFL requested in the initial draft of the revised labor laws, only seven were adopted by the government — a revealing contrast with Schreyer's haste to appease the insurance companies on the Autopac legislation.

In general, this government has failed to aid or encourage those sectors of the population who have moved to challenge the profits, privilege and prejudices of capitalist society. Its record on women's rights, for instance, is abysmal. (See article this issue.)

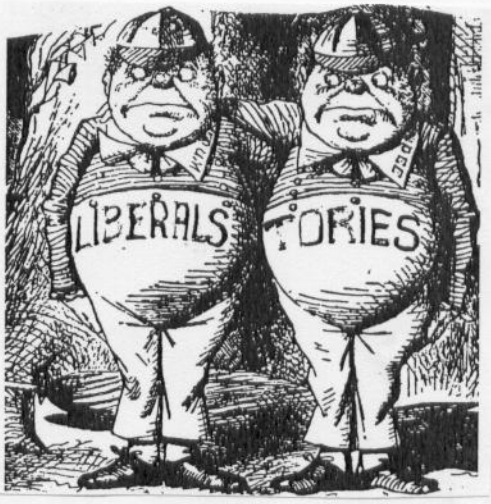
Schreyer's outspokenly reactionary views — in support of the War Measures Act, in favor of wage controls, for increased public funding of private and parochial schools, in opposition to the NDP running on the party label in Winnipeg civic politics — have shocked many NDP activists across the country. In no sense has this government attempted to project an alternative to capitalist policies on any of the big political issues of the day. It has remained silent on Vietnam, nuclear weapons — even the military alliances with the United States which maintain U.S. bases on Manitoba soil. At the numerous federal-provincial conferences he has attended, Schreyer, like the other NDP provincial premiers, has failed to show the slightest recognition of Quebec's right to national self-determination.

Today, when the Tories and Liberals demagogically promise higher old-age pensions or lower taxes, Schreyer and his ministers, in the worst tradition of capitalist statesmen, reply that they are being "irresponsible."

The big business parties and their press are demagogic to call this government "socialist." The NDP regime in Manitoba is administering capitalism, helping to make the system run better for the businessmen. The ministers in the Manitoba government only want to reform the system, not replace it. Their actions in office reflect the thinking and interests of the relatively privileged layers at the top of the labor movement, and the lawyers and other middle-class elements who infest the NDP leadership. That the ungrateful capitalists want to kick the NDP out anyway, and rule through a more stable instrument, in a more direct way, does not change this fact.

As a labor-based party, the NDP breaks the workers organizationally from the big business parties. The mass of politically-conscious workers in Manitoba continue to express their elementary desires for a change in their condition through the NDP. But the Schreyer government experience demonstrates that the present leadership cannot implement the changes that are needed. The workers need a party with a socialist program, and a

→ p. 3



leadership committed to carry out that program.

The members of the League for Socialist Action are actively engaged in building such a leadership through participating in the independent struggles of working people, women, students — all those with an interest in changing this system — seeking to develop and lead their struggles forward in an anticapitalist direction.

That struggle, however, inevitably and necessarily finds expression inside the NDP. The repeated challenges within the party to the procapitalist program of the leadership — whether through rank-and-file caucuses of women or labor militants, or through more generalized socialist caucuses like the "Waffle" — indicates that the party base is continually faced with the need to go beyond liberal-reformist parliamentarist politics. It also indicates the need for the formation within the party of a broad class-struggle current that carries on a sustained fight for the socialist alternative on all key questions before the working people.

Some radicals in Manitoba, demoralized by the dismal record of the Schreyer regime, intend to sit out the election campaign. But the issue in this election is not "For or against Schreyer," or whether his government's program has qualitatively improved the conditions of the working people. It hasn't. The key challenge is how to use the opportunity presented by the election to develop the struggle agaist big business domination. This can best be done by taking the demands raised by the struggles of women, students, the native peoples — the working people as a whole — into the NDP campaign, not to subordinate them to Schreyer's milquetoast and wholly inadequate platform, but to challenge the NDP to respond to these issues and demands, to develop policies that can change the relationship of forces in favor of the working class and undermine the power and authority of big business.

An electoral defeat of the NDP at the hands of the Tories and Liberals will in no way advance the process of breaking the workers from capitalist politics, or from the procapitalist politics upheld by the Schreyers and Lewises of the NDP leadership.

On the other hand, an NDP electoral victory can open the way to raising the challenge to the reformist leadership to a qualitatively higher level — by challenging the government itself to carry out anticapitalist measures.

But the success of such a strategy depends on the strength of the socialist forces, their capacity to combine firm adherence to principle with tactical flexibility, their ability to intervene wherever openings for mass struggle appear, their success in turning such struggles against the government around clear programmatic alternatives that point the way to anticapitalist change.

Such a perspective can best be advanced in this election by campaigning in support of the NDP, around a socialist program.

Selling the socialist press

by THE EDITORS

This column is a new feature for Labor Challenge. Its purpose is to provide you with ideas, news and perhaps some inspiration to sell the socialist press.

A couple of recent events serve as examples.

Southern Ontario Labor Challenge supporters sold about 200 papers May 26 at the Dare demonstration in Kitchener. The buyers were mainly trade unionists.

Supporters in Edmonton have written, increasing their bundle of papers to 200 per issue. We reprint part of their letter here:

"A large part of our present success in selling the paper comes from the inspiration and example of a group of supporters who work in the downtown area, and who decided to sell Labor Challenge at least two times a week in their lunch hours. They inspired themselves so much with their success at lunch hour street sales that we are now selling every day. We discovered that we felt better, less alienated, going back to work. Now the downtown people are now being joined by others.

"The main campaign, though, is Saturday afternoon sales mobilizations. And the success is phenomenal. There were rumours that sales of Labor Challenge would be difficult, or that we would have to approach only older people who 'look like workers.' Not so. From experience, Labor Challenge appeals to everyone interested in alternative to the rotten capital papers."

If you have had experience selling Labor Challenge that you would like to share, drop us a line.

And if you would like to help the socialist press, write us. We'll be glad to provide you with a bundle Labor Challenges every two weeks.

Subscribe!

clip and mail to **LABOR CHALLENGE, Box 5595, Station A, Toronto 1, Ontario**

()Enclosed is $4.00 for one year (24 issues)

()Enclosed is $1.00 for an introductory subscription (6 issues)

This is a ()new subscription ()renewal

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone___ Prov.___

labor Challenge #80

Women's rights issue in Manitoba vote

by BRENDA DINEEN

WINNIPEG — After four years of NDP government in Manitoba, little has been done to improve the situation faced by the province's women. And if the problems confronting women are to become an issue in the June 28 provincial election it will be through no effort by premier Ed Schreyer. On every count, the response of the NDP government to demands posed by the feminist movement has been inaction.

It is on the issue of Canada's restrictive abortion laws which the record of the Schreyer government has been most scandalous. Flying in the face of federal NDP policy, the NDP government has never defended women's right to abortion. At the 1971 convention of the party Schreyer himself intervened to assure defeat, by a narrow margin, of a resolution calling for abortion law repeal.

Not sympathy for women's rights but the government's embarrassment and opposition organized by the Manitoba Abortion Action Coalition finally forced Schreyer to dump anti-abortion fanatic Joe Borowski from his cabinet. And when Borowski, now an independent, introduced Bill 10 into the last session of the Manitoba legislature, calling for removal of abortions from medical insurance coverage, it was opposed by the government only in the interest of administrative efficiency and because "abortion is a federal matter."

In Winnipeg, where almost all the abortions in the province are performed, only three hospitals have abortion committees. Operating under a quota system, Winnipeg General Hospital does the most. Now, after Justice minister Otto Lang's directive to enforce the abortion laws more strictly, Winnipeg General has cut back on performing abortions — from the meager two mornings to one a week.

Birth control and abortion clinics must be established throughout the province. Complete access to birth control information and free contraceptive devices must be assured to all Manitoba women.

The Manitoba Abortion Action Coalition has called a rally for June 9, to challenge the candidates of all parties on the question of abortion law repeal.

The Manitoba NDP at its last convention committed the party to substantial expansion of child care facilities. Yet the response of the Schreyer government has been to defy the will of the party's membership; in fact child care facilities remain available only on the most minimal scale.

On May 4, a Winnipeg parents group presented a brief on child care to the government's Health, Education and Social Policy committee. Endorsed by a wide range of women's and community organizations the brief calls for free and universal child care facilities.

Feminists, through intervening in campaign meetings, and organizing all-candidates rallies, can make free, and universal 24-hour child care a big issue in the election campaign.

More than half of Manitoba women between the ages of 20 and 24 are in the labor force. Yet women continue to be forced into the lowest paying and most menial jobs. Women doing similar work to men continue to receive lower wages.

The Manitoba Human Rights Commission reports that in 1971, its first year of operation, complaints about sex discrimination totalled 75.6 percent of all formal complaints. By 1972 this had become 91.8 percent. Most of these cases involved job discrimination.

Candidates in this election must be forced to respond to the problems confronted by women in the work force. The minimum wage must be increased to levels comparable to trade union rates of pay, to ensure women and all workers a decent standard of living. The government must end discrimination against women workers.

Given the dismal record of the Schreyer regime in responding to the needs of women how should feminists intervene in the election campaign? The Manitoba Action Committee on the Status of Women has pledged its support to those candidates, regardless of sex, who prove "strongest" on key issues facing women.

But such a proposal fails to recognize the qualitative difference between the big business-controlled Liberals and Tories on the one hand, and the labor-controlled NDP on the other. Big business has an interest in maintaining the oppression of women, whatever demogagic appeals its candidates may make to win feminist support. The labor movement, to the contrary, has every interest in promoting the feminist struggle, however much the present trade union and NDP leadership may stand in the road.

The struggle for women's liberation is best advanced by the independent activity of women, through campaigns and mass actions like those organized by the Canadian Women's Coalition for Repeal of the Abortion Laws. At the same time feminists should intervene in the NDP and its present election campaign, to win the support of party members to women's liberation demands. Under such pressure, inside and outside the party, the next NDP government can be forced to make important concessions to the feminist struggle.

Feminists should support the NDP in this election, despite the record of the Schreyer government. And the candidates of all parties must be forced to respond to the problems confronting women.

ABORTION REPEAL ACTIVISTS from Manitoba joined cross-country march on Ottawa Nov. 20, 1971.

labor Challenge #80 Jun 1977

Left Caucus conference

Debate program for NDP

by RAY WARDEN

More than 100 New Democrats from across southern Ontario attended a meeting of the Left Caucus in the Ontario NDP in Toronto May 26-27. The conference was called to elaborate strategy for participation of socialists in the federal NDP convention to be held in Vancouver on July 20-23.

The conference discussed and adopted resolutions on inflation and unemployment, labor, antilabor legislation, abortion, women, quebec and imperialist alliances and war. Several other resolutions, which the conference could not find time to discuss, were referred to the incoming steering committeee.

The resolutions will be taken by Left Caucus activists into their riding associations.

The conference voted to appeal to socialists across the country to unite their forces in a campaign to ensure a large delegation at the federal NDP convention committed to fight for socialist policies.

An appeal from the B.C. NDP Women's Rights Committee, calling for a women's caucus at the federal convention, was endorsed by the conference. Caucus supporters will aid in its circulation throughout the province.

Major controversy at the conference turned around a proposed "Left Caucus manifesto" submitted by Chris Huxley, Varda Kidd, Jackie Larkin, Steve Penner and Barry Weisleder, all of Toronto. Entitled "For a Socialist and Class Struggle Perspective in the NDP," the manifesto elaborated a sharp critique of the record and ideology of the NDP leadership.

Most participants in the conference felt that adoption of the manifesto could only serve to narrow the possibility for the Left Caucus to encompass all those forces in the party willing to struggle for socialist policies. Its authors included, for example, a sharp polemic against Canadian nationalism. Liz Barkley, speaking against the manifesto, argued that its adoption would exclude from participation in the Left Caucus supporters of the Waffle, who have remained in the NDP but have not yet come to correct anti-nationalist conclusions.

As several delegates noted, the manifesto's call for "an independent socialist Quebec" would tend to narrow the caucus. The principled and correct demand for socialists to fight for in the NDP in English Canada was recognition of Quebec's right to self-determination.

VARDA KIDD argued for narrow perspective of "manifesto."

Supporters of the manifesto tended in general to pose the Left Caucus in narrower terms than the conference majority. They emphasized what they conceived as the caucus's need to propagandize a revolutionary socialist analysis of the problems confronting the working class including a critique of the NDP leadership, its social democratic and bureaucratic character, and what was described as its recent "right turn." As some described it, the orientation of such propaganda was not to the ranks of the NDP but to exposing the bankruptcy of the NDP leadership to worker militants outside the party

The thrust of the proposed manifesto was toward a head-on confrontation with the NDP leadership. Such a perspective, most conference participants judged, was completely unrealistic given the present relation of forces within the party. In so far as it occurred on the basis of an analytical critique of social democracy, such a confrontation at this time would be comprehensible only to a narrow layer of radicals.

Kim Boyd of Hamilton explained one of the basic flaws of the manifesto: "The manifesto poses that a particular analysis of the NDP leadership be a condition for membership in the Left Caucus," he said. "It begins with assumptions that many militants in the NDP have not yet drawn. Such an approach would limit the Left Caucus, and cut off its ability to reach out to militants in the party." The task before the Left Caucus, he said, is breaking out of its present isolation.

It is only in the process of struggle around issues of major concern to working people that militants in the

→p.2

photo by Arnie Mintz

LIZ BARKLEY. Left Caucus activist outlined perspective for building broad opposition among NDP ranks.

NDP can come to the more far-reaching conclusions which supporters of the manifesto attempted to impose on the Left Caucus from the beginning. Forces assembled around the proposed manifesto tended to confuse the role of the Left Caucus with functions better performed by a revolutionary party.

In contrast to this strategy, revolutionists in the League for Socialist Action, which does have the perspective of building a mass revolutionary party, participate in building the Left Caucus as a formation inclusive of all those forces willing to fight in the NDP around basic class-struggle policies. They see the task as one of posing concrete **actions** and **campaigns**, both within and outside the NDP, that can point to the socialist alternative, so that working people and students who look to the NDP for leadership can discover **in the course of their own experiences** the role of the NDP leadership as a barrier to the advance of the class struggle. The Left Caucus, in this view, should be the instrument of such a strategy within the NDP; but to attempt to impose a complete revolutionary critique on such a formation would exclude it from being able to appeal to the mass rank-and-file base of the party.

The Left Caucus conference voted to refer the manifesto to the incoming steering committee. In motivating the referral, Kate Alderdice noted that while the manifesto contained several weaknesses and errors, it was a considerable improvement from an earlier draft circulated in the pre-conference discussion. (A critique of the earlier draft was presented in the last issue of Labor Challenge.)

On that basis, and in the interest of preserving the unity of the caucus, the manifesto should be considered along with other contributions, in preparing a statement for the NDP convention.

The conference ended with election of the Left Caucus steering committee. Elected were Liz Barkley, Howard Brown, Mary Trew, Hans Modlich, and Marilyn Jones. Despite the conference decision to refer the proposed manifesto to the steering committee for further discussion, the manifesto's supporters refused to stand for nomination. The conference left four positions on the steering committee open and appealed to manifesto supporters to reconsider their decision.

advertisement

young socialist

June 1973 25 cents

French students | Ontario teachers | Quebec May Day

Inflation-p.5
Watergate-p.4

Many different people and movements are active in the fight against capitalism and imperialism. YOUNG SOCIALIST reports the activities, debates and discussions in those movements. Keep in touch — Subscribe.

clip and mail to Young Socialist, Box 517, Station A, Toronto, Ontario.
Enclosed is $2.00 for one year (10 issues) of Young Socialist.

Labor Challenge
#80 Jun 1973

Waffle weighs split from Sask. NDP

by HOWARD BROWN

"Basically what the government has done is restore the status quo as it existed prior to 1964" when two decades of CCF-NDP government were ended by Ross Thatcher's Liberals. So one Saskatchewan Waffle leader summarized the first year in office of Saskatchewan's present NDP government, elected in June 1971. That judgment remains as true today.

Beyond correcting the more "excessive" pro-business measures of the previous Liberal regime, the record of the NDP government has been one of extremely modest social reforms. Despite considerable sentiment in the provincial party for a strategy of resource development based on public ownership, such a strategy has been firmly rejected by the new government.

Pre-election promises to defend working farmers have proven hollow. The government's modest land bank scheme and FarmStart loans program cannot prevent farmers being driven from the land under the pressure of agribusiness and federal government policy.

The province remains a net exporter of people. Plant shutdowns, most notably in milling and refining, have met no effective government response. Cutbacks in education spending and increased tuition fees have sparked considerable dissatisfaction among students.

Failure of the government even to begin to come to grips with basic problems confronting Saskatchewan working people has fostered substantial demoralization within the ranks of the Saskatchewan NDP. That demoralization has been most sharply reflected in developments in the Waffle movement.

Since the 1970 leadership contest in the Saskatchewan NDP — when Waffler Don Mitchell received the support of 25 percent of the delegates at the party's provincial convention — and the election of Waffler John Richards to the legislature in 1971, the Saskatchewan left wing has made activity within the party less and less the center of its politics.

In preparation for last fall's federal election at least two leading Wafflers, Don Mitchell and Carol Gudmundson carried unsuccessful fights for NDP nominations. But Waffle activity in the last federal election campaign was almost entirely external to the NDP.

"As members of the NDP," the Waffle declared in an "anti-campaign" broadcast widely circulated throughout the province, "we will be supporting NDP candidates at the polls. Some Waffle supporters are also working in NDP campaigns. But as an organized group we protest the traditional and

DON MITCHELL. Saskatchewan Waffle leader

empty style now emphasized by all candidates . . ." In a series of public meetings across the province the Waffle outlined its own views on issues before the voters.

Previously admitting only members of the NDP to its ranks, and defining itself as "an internal caucus of the New Democratic Party" the Waffle reorganized last October, formalized its structure and membership requirements, and agreed to allow socialists outside of the NDP into the organization.

At the same time it launched "Next Year Country," a newsmagazine featuring muckraking articles on government policy and analysis of the structural problems of Saskatchewan's economy.

Wafflers have been active in municipal politics in Moose Jaw, where in a campaign last winter Don Mitchell received 35 percent of the popular vote, running under the banner of the Waffle-dominated Civic Reform Association. The most extensive cross-provincial activity carried by Wafflers over the past period has been the "Saskoil" campaign for public development of the petroleum industry.

There is apparently relative unanimity among Saskatchewan Waffle leaders that the movement should follow the course of the Ontario Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada (MISC) in leaving the NDP. Frustrated at their inability to "influence" government policy and convinced that it is impossible, at least in the immediate period, to assemble substantially greater forces within the NDP, they have set their sights on the establishment of a new political formation. The Waffle will not participate as an organized force in the upcoming NDP federal convention. A provincial conference to discuss launching a new movement is scheduled for this fall.

Such a process, set in motion, poses before the entire Saskatchewan left wing a whole number of important programmatic and strategic questions. The Waffle's rank and file, most particularly in the rural areas where it tends to be more firmly embedded in the NDP, correctly remains skeptical of the adventurous launching of a new political movement in opposition to the NDP. The hegemony of the present NDP leadership, they recognise all too well, is not so easily broken.

But neither can socialists allow their activity to be confined to the party, constricted by barriers erected by the NDP's right wing, and particularly in a period when the party's constituency organizations are relatively lifeless.

To this point the Saskatchewan Waffle has failed to elaborate a strategy for workers and farmers power which comes to term with the obstacles to that struggle posed by the NDP leadership. The Waffle's own social democratic inclinations — its conception of the road to socialism as the accumulation of anticapitalist structural reforms in the province's depressed economy; its Canadian nationalism; the parochialism of its outlook which too often extends not far beyond the boundaries of the province; its persistent refusal to clarify its programmatic and strategic concepts in favor of maintaining some all-inclusive "unity": all these problems must be firmly confronted if the Waffle in Saskatchewan is not itself to become a barrier to the struggle for socialism.

Labor Challenge, in future issues will attempt to analyze some of these problems now confronting the Saskatchewan left.

labor Challenge #80 Jun 1973

Strike prods B.C. NDP to repeal antilabor law

by JOAN NEWBIGGING

VANCOUVER — NDP activists here are organizing solidarity pickets in support of workers at nine Shoppers Drug Mart stores who have been on strike for the past three months. Their strike has culminated two years of efforts to organize a union and win a decent contract from one of the largest drug store chains in Canada.

The Shoppers Drug Mart workers, almost 100 percent women, have faced legal maneuvers, trickery, intimidation, countless delays — all stemming from B.C.'s vicious antilabor laws which the Barrett NDP government has failed to wipe off the books.

Their struggle shows how these laws are used by the employers to frustrate and turn back attempts of working people to organize. The Retail Clerks Union originally applied for certification at 32 Shoppers Drug Mart stores in B.C. in March of 1972.

Shortly after that, the owner of the chain maneuvered to involve individual managers in part ownership of the stores. When certification was granted to the Retail Clerks, he challenged this decision in the Supreme Court, contending that because the stores were individually owned they had to be individually certified.

This challenge was upheld by the Supreme Court on the basis of a clause in B.C.'s Labor Relations Act. As a result the Retail Clerks were forced to obtain certification at each individual store.

By February of this year 13 stores had been certified and nine went on strike to back their demands. These are modest — for approximately $2.70 an hour for clerks, for job security and certain fringe benefits. And yet the Shoppers' management has refused to negotiate seriously, hoping rather to demoralize and wear out the strikers. Scabs have been hired in all the stores and an injunction has been granted to one store limiting picketing to three people. In addition, the strikers have been prevented from increasing the effectiveness of the strike by picketing non-striking stores. This would be classified as information picketing, illegal under the Trade Union Act, one of B.C.'s antilabor laws.

The strike is an important one because it represents a serious effort by women in the service industries to win better working conditions. If defeated, it would be a setback for all women in the service industries. In that event the fault would lie primarily with the NDP government in Victoria, whose failure to repeal the antilabor laws has seriously impaired the ability of the Shoppers Drug Mart workers to carry an effective struggle.

It is this that is angering many NDPers. The NDP Ad Hoc Labor Committee, made up of rank-and-file NDPers from around the lower mainland, and the Burrard constituency Labor Committee are currently organizing NDPers in solidarity pickets in support of the Shoppers Drug Mart strikers.

Dave Craig, an activist in the Ad Hoc Labor Committee, explained the purpose of the solidarity picket in an interview with Labor Challenge: "The Ad Hoc Labor Committee was formed during the last legislative session with the aim of mobilizing NDPers to get the NDP caucus in Victoria to carry out party policy and repeal the antilabor laws. We've found there is overwhelming support for this throughout the party and the union movement. The Shoppers Drug Mart strike poses quite graphically what the antilabor laws are all about — and how they are currently being used to harrass the efforts of one of the most exploited sections of the work force to organize. It shows how the NDP government is in fact acting for the employers in not repealing the laws. This is intolerable. We're in this party because it's a labor party — that means it's got to fight on behalf of the working people of B.C. And we've got to fight within the party to get the leadership to do that."

Premier David Barrett and Labor Minister William King have made no secret of the fact that in their eyes they bear no special responsibility to working people. Their mandate, they have declared, is to serve the total community — both employers and workers. But this is not possible. The class struggle continues, regardless of what Barrett and King may believe. And the experience of the B.C. labor movement since the Barrett government was elected shows that by refusing to take a stand in favor of workers' rights, this government aids the employers.

That's why NDPers have to mobilize in support of workers who are currently being victimized by the antilabor laws. And that's why NDPers and trade unionists have a long-term interest in uniting together into a strong and vocal force to compel this leadership to use its legislative powers on behalf of labor.

Protest gov't strikebreaking

by RON HAYWOOD

More than 5,000 workers from across Ontario converged on Kitchener Saturday May 26 to march in solidarity with strikers of Dare Foods Ltd.

On strike since May 29, 1972, 250 of the original 375 strikers, members of the United Brewery Workers Union (UBW), have refused the "assistance" of professional strikebreakers and cops in crossing the picket lines and returning to work.

The key issues in the dispute were the 40-hour work week (the work week was 42 and one-half hours) and an end to discrimination against women workers. Women, more than 80 per cent of the workers, were required to remain standing all shift, even if there was a pause in production, and were required to raise their hands and ask permission in order to go to the washroom. The refusal of the company to accept wage parity between men and women workers triggered the strike.

Since then the company and government have combined to defeat the strike. Kitchener police have provided "protection" for trucks manned by professional strikebreakers hauling produce out of the plant. The courts have slapped injunctions on the union, limiting picketing to only four pickets at each of the four plant gates. Canada Manpower has recruited scabs to keep production going.

photo by Jeff White

DARE DEMONSTRATION. More than 4,000 trade unionists and their supporters rally in Kitchener May 26 to back United Brewery Workers' year-long strike against Dare Foods.

The Kitchener rally was addressed by more than a dozen speakers, including members of the UBW, and leading NDP and union officials. David Archer, president of the Ontario Federation of Labor, promised the strikers that 700,000 organized workers in Ontario have pledged their support. But the only proposal Archer offered was a boycott of Dare cookies.

While a boycott can provide some supplementary aid for strikers, it cannot substitute for mass action. When the inevitable court injunction is issued limiting picketing and allowing production to continue, the labor movement must organize and mobilize its ranks.

Thousands of pickets can stop production and win strikes like the one at Dare. But they will not be won through pious greetings or relying simply on urging people to buy a different brand of cookies.

Labor Challenge #80 Jun 1973

Franco-Ontariens unite in struggle for French school

by JOE YOUNG

OTTAWA, June 2 — French-speaking teachers today announced planned actions including a public demonstration and study sessions in 45 Ontario schools in the next few days to protest repressive action against French-speaking teachers in Cornwall. Two teachers are being fired and three others blacklisted because of their support for a student strike last March demanding a French-speaking school in the eastern Ontario town.

The Board of Education for Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry made the decision by a 7-5 vote May 24 and affirmed it by a 10-5 vote May 29. The two teachers fired are Jacques Boyer and Rev. Paul Besozzi. The three who will have an unfavorable report entered in their records include Jeannine Seguin, the principal of Ecole Secondaire Sts Laurent, where the student struggle took place.

Concentrated in northern and eastern Ontario, there are an estimated 500,000 Franco-Ontariens in the province. A study prepared by two professors at the University of Ottawa for the Association Canadienne-Francaise de l'Ontario (ACFO) shows some of the oppressed conditions of the French-speaking population in Ontario.

The average income of Franco-Ontarien households is about seven percent lower than the general Ontario average.

About 25 percent of Franco-Ontariens live below the poverty line established by the Senate Committee on Poverty ($2,400 for a single person; $5,710 for a family of four).

The average education level of Franco-Ontariens is 9.6 years.

The teachers were not given an opportunity to see the charges of "unprofessional conduct" brought against them by the board; they were not allowed to defend themselves at the closed-door meetings. French-speaking trustee Albert Morin declared: "The majority of this board's members will not look at Francophones as their equals. I definitely accuse them of being prejudiced."

The firings arose out of the teachers' support for the student struggle at Ecole Secondaire St-Laurent for a French-speaking school of their own. There is no such school in Cornwall which is over 40 percent francophone. The school works on a shift system — "bilingual" (predominately English) in the morning, French in the afternoon. The francophone students consider this to be totally inadequate and an impediment to developing a French milieu in the school. It speeds the widespread process of anglicization of Franco-Ontariens.

The students went on strike for almost three weeks, only returning to school on April 1, when the provincial government appointed a mediator to settle the dispute. His report recommended a French-language school in 1974.

Both the students and the Association des Enseignants Franco-Ontariens (AEFO — Association of Franco-Ontarien Teachers) are reacting angrily to the political repression. On May 28, 700 students, almost the entire French-speaking school student population, occupied the gymnasium for one-and-a-half hours, chanting "On veut Boyer, On Veut Besozzi") (We want Boyer, We want Besozzi).

On May 31, the AEFO formed a common front with the Association Canadienne-Francaise de l'Ontario (ACFO — French-Canadian Association of Ontario), la Federation des Associations de Parents et Instituteurs (Federation of Parent-Teacher Associations), the Association francaise des conseils scolaires de l'Ontario (Association of French school boards of Ontario) and Direction-Jeunesse. It aims to stop the firings and the blacklisting of the teachers. Omer Deslauriers, president of ACFO and spokesman for the common front, described the fight as a "struggle to the end."

The attacks on the Cornwall teachers is a threat to both Franco-Ontarien rights and teachers' rights. Throughout the province — Sturgeon Falls, Elliott Lake, Mississauga — Franco-Ontariens have been fighting for their right to an education in French. If French-speaking teachers are be victimized for defending that right, this will be a serious threat to linguistic rights, and the political rights of all teachers.

STUDENT OCCUPATION. Franco-Ontarien students occupy gymnasium at Ecole Secondaire St-Laurent in Cornwall May 28, protesting firing of two teachers.

advertisement

JOIN US IN STRUGGLE LSA & YS

Young Socialists / Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes
League for Socialist Action / Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere

Edmonton — LSA, YS, No. 6, 10518 — 82 Ave., 432-7358; **Guelph** — YS, Box 6, Creelman Hall, OVC, University of Guelph, 821-6661; **Hamilton** — 1001 Main St. W., Apt. 116, 528-6200; **Kitchener-Waterloo** — LSA, YS, Box 921, Kitchener, 745-3541; **Montreal** — LSO, LJS, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, 861-3018; **Orillia** — LSA, YS, Box 835; **Ottawa** — No. 1, 418 Somerset St. W., 232-2171; **Peterborough** — YS, 429 Stewart St., 745-9819; **Regina** — YS, Box 623; **Richmond Hill** — LSA, YS, Box 281; **St. Catharines** — LSA, Box 343; **Toronto** — LSA, YS, 334 Queen St. W., 363-9618 or 364-4056. North Metro LSA, 5740 Yonge St., Willowdale, 221-5425; **Vancouver** — LSA, YS, 1208 Granville St., 688-5924; **Winnipeg** — LSA, YS, No. 728, 416 Main St., 943-7791.

labor Challenge #80

Gays map cross-country actions

by JOE YOUNG

OTTAWA — On the weekend of May 19-20, 60 persons attended a cross-country gay liberation conference held in Ottawa. The 60 persons present represented groups from Halifax, Quebec City, Montreal, Ottawa, Hamilton, Kitchener-Waterloo, Saskatoon and Vancouver. Among the groups represented were Vancouver Gay Alliance Toward Equality (GATE), Body Politic (the gay liberation newspaper published in Toronto), Community Homophile Association of Toronto (CHAT) and the newly formed Toronto GATE.

The first day of the conference heard reports from all the organizations on their activities and plans. The reports indicated a growing interest in gay liberation across the country, and an increasing focus on the fight for gay civil rights. The groups in Halifax, Toronto, Saskatchewan and Vancouver are all approaching their respective provincial governments for amendments to the Human Rights Codes to include the words "sexual orientation" as one of the grounds on which discrimination is barred.

The second day focused on proposals for action and coordination. It was agreed that as part of Gay Pride week, demonstrations would be held Aug. 25 in provincial centers. The focus of the demonstrations will be amendments to the provincial Human Rights Codes.

This discussion was followed by proposals from Toronto GATE for action. The spokesperson raised the need for a number of the existing gay liberation organizations to orient more toward political action. The two major proposals were a continuing campaign to amend the Human Rights Codes and the relaunching of the National Gay Election Coalition (NGEC), which intervened in the last federal election. NGEC will call for amendments to the Canadian bill of rights, for the striking down of discriminatory legislation such as the immigration and security acts, and the implementation of protective legislation for gays. The results of a questionnaire to candidates will be revealed before the elections. As well, candidates will be confronted at campaign meetings.

The spokesperson for GATE stated that the NDP has been the party most sympathetic to gay civil rights although it still has a long way to go. Michael Cassidy, NDP MPP for Ottawa Center has been assisting the Gays of Ottawa in fighting discrimination against gays in the Ontario and federal civil service. Rosemary Brown, NDP MLA in B.C., has committed herself to raise the issue on the floor of the legislature. However the party is still quite backward on the issue, as was revealed by a recent meeting between members of GATE and part of the Ontario NDP caucus. The caucus refused to take a public stand on the issue until the public's attitude has changed.

The conference unanimously adopted the proposals for the NGEC and the ongoing campaign around Human Rights Codes with Toronto GATE designated as the coordinating group. An Ontario-wide conference is planned for July 1 and a country-wide conference for the fall.

labor Challenge #80 Jun 1973

Assassination strengthened the Right

Trotskyist stance on terrorism

The last two months have seen a wave of terrorist actions by left and Peronist guerrillas in Argentina. These have included the kidnapping of Rear Admiral Francisco Aleman on April 2; the kidnapping of Lieutenant Colonel Jacobo Nasif, the regional commander of the Cordoba police on April 26; the assassination of Colonel Hector Alberto Iribarren, chief of intelligence of Argentina's Third Army, on April 4; the assassination of retired Rear Admiral Hermes Jose Quijada, the former chief chairman of Argentina's joint chiefs of staff, on April 30; and the May 22 shootings of two Ford executives, which prompted Ford to pay $1-million in medical supplies to Argentine hospitals in return for an end to the attacks.

The following statement on the assassination of Quijada explains the Trotskyist position on terrorist actions of this type. It was published in the May 2 issue of Avanzada Socialista, the weekly newspaper of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST — Socialist Workers party). The article was entitled "The Death of Quijada Aids the Right." The translation is by Intercontinental Press.

A guerrilla organization has killed Rear Admiral Hermes Quijada in an attack carried out in the heart of downtown Buenos Aires. The action was impressive both in terms of its boldness and its victim, who was a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and one of the main officials of the navy at the time of the Trelew massacre (Aug. 22, 1972).

The government decreed a state of emergency in the capital and in the largest provinces, which means that the military authorities assumed full powers, with no opportunity for appeal in the civil courts. A War Tribunal was set up and empowered to apply the death penalty in summary judgment.

Coming twenty-five days before the new government takes over, the death of Quijada is not going to substantially alter things. Initial statements by the high commands reaffirm their earlier decision to relinquish the reins of government. Parallel to this, Lanusse sent a telegram to Campora stressing an invitation to discuss the pacification of the country. Campora agreed, and now the Peronist leadership is increasing, if that be possible, the conciliatory tone it adopted after tossing Galimberti overboard.

But there can be no doubt that within this context those sectors that are opposed to turning the government over to the FREJULI (Frente Justicialista de Liberacion — Justicialist Liberation Front, the Peronist coalition), or who want to impose prior conditions upon it and compromise it as much as possible with the oligarchy, now find themselves in a stronger position. The most likely thing is that now they will hand over power to the FREJULI, but only after imposing conditions — which we cannot be sure Campora will reject.

And one direct consequence of the attack is that at a time when various unions are involved in struggles, and with only a short time remaining before the new government for which the workers voted takes office, May Day demonstrations were banned, making the process of reorganizing the workers movement more difficult. One of the groups most hurt (as a result of the attack) is the Juventud Peronista (JP — Peronist Youth), which was dealt a double blow: Peron "cleaned out" (JP leader Rodolpho) Galimberti, and, following the attack, the planned march on the Congress was banned.

We have polemicized at length in the pages of Avanzada Socialista with the guerrilla organizations. Many times we have insisted that their actions, which are isolated from the struggles of the masses, do not aid the struggle for immediate goals, nor do they bring socialism nearer, nor do they educate the workers about the necessity to become protagonists in the struggle; on the contrary, these actions strengthen the forces of reaction.

The killing of Quijada, unfortunately, only confirms the correctness of our position.

The working class and its vanguard are today fighting two decisive battles: to win the release of all the political prisoners and to win nationalization, under workers control, of certain monopolistic companies that are involved in a conflict with the state or with their own workers. This is the situation in the outstanding cases of Codex (a publishing house) and Standard Electric.

By strengthening the right wing and the most reactionary sectors, the new attack does nothing more than place an obstacle in the path of this struggle that has already begun. And let it not be said in reply that the working class thereby receives a stimulus toward combativity, since, by its very nature, this kind of action is not regarded by the workers as something suitable for them to emulate; at most it might arouse astonishment at its boldness. The fact is that individual terrorism — however strongly it is propagated — cannot be a substitute for mass struggle.

The system can replace thousands of its officials, however valuable they may be; losing them is not going to be enough to bring about its collapse. Moreover, to kill many of them in violence confuses vast layers of the people, who see that both the reactionary forces, on the one hand, and the guerrillas, on the other, resort to a totally arbitrary "justice" that is neither controlled by nor carried out by the masses, even though it may be performed in their name.

For this reason, we repeat: The effect of this type of guerrilla actions is the opposite of what their authors proclaim or want; they actually strengthen the forces of reaction.

1971 CORDOBA UPRISING. Mass workers upsurge in Argentine cities showed that military dictatorship was unable to maintain social peace. Peronists were allowed to take power in attempt to resolve crisis.

THE COMING CONFRONTATION

Where is Allende taking Chile? When the chips are down, where will the military stand? What are the organizations of the workers, peasants, and the left doing? What are their programs? What are the perspectives facing the Chilean people?

For the answers read **Intercontinental Press**, the only English-language weekly magazine that specializes in news and analysis of revolutionary struggles from Canada to Chile and all around the world.

Intercontinental Press: A socialist antidote to the lies of the capitalist media.

Intercontinental Press
P.O. Box 116, Village Station
New York, NY 10014

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

( ) Enclosed is $7.50 for six months.
( ) Enclosed is $15 for one year.

advertisement

Behind the Nixon-Brezhnev summit

pages 6-8

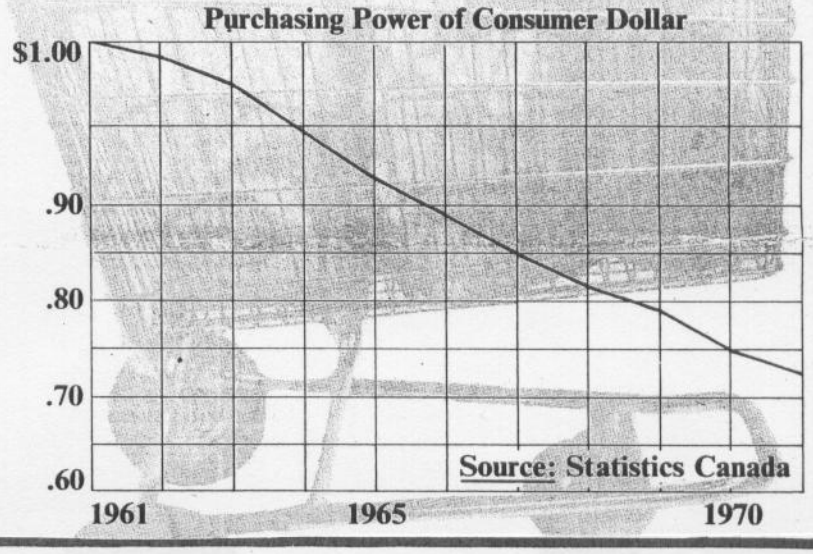
labor Challenge

Jun 25, 1973 Vol. 4 No. 11 (#81)

Stop profit-gouging!

Open the books!

page 3



PCs, Libs gang up vs. Manitoba NDP

by BEVERLEY BERNARDO
AND DICK FIDLER

JUNE 19 — With the close of nominations, the Manitoba New Democratic Party is the only party running a full slate of candidates in all 57 seats for the June 28 provincial election. In nine seats the Progressive Conservative and Liberal opposition parties have joined forces behind a single candidate against the NDP. All but one of these seats were held by the NDP in the last legislature, and most were held by cabinet ministers including Premier Edward Schreyer.

Tories and Liberals have virtually buried partisan differences between them in a vicious, mudslinging campaign to defeat the NDP government. Both big business parties are campaigning against "state control" by the NDP, said to be "dominated by Eastern labor bosses." If the Tories, the Official Opposition in the last legislature, are campaigning as the "responsible" alternative to the NDP, the Liberals — apparently in the belief they have nothing to lose — are sparing no hyperbole in their hysterical attacks. Liberal leader Asper, for example, has charged that the NDP is moving toward state takeover of farms, converting farmers into "second-class sharecroppers." Liberal newspaper ads attacking NDP public housing schemes declaim: "When people had something to work for in this province — before the NDP took so much away from everyone we had nothing left but the memory — nobody settled for living in state-controlled housing . . ."

The Winnipeg daily newspapers juggle electoral statistics to demonstrate that since "less than 25 percent of the eligible voters elected the present government," "a minority — and not a large minority either — has dictated the kind of government Manitoba has." The Free Press urges voters to "choose the non-socialist candidate who, they think, has the best chance of winning." →p 2

labor Challenge #81

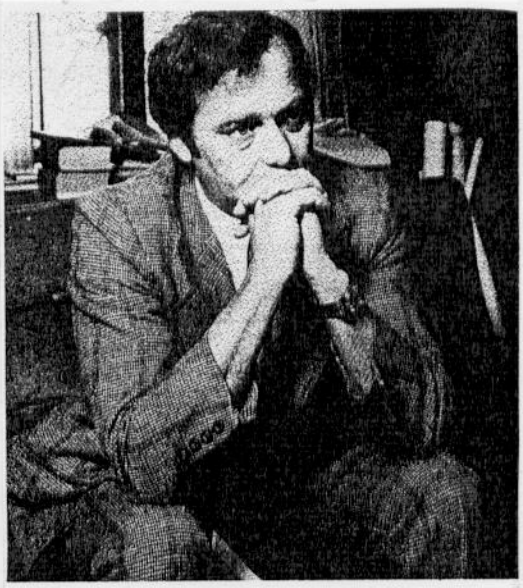
p. 2

ANTI-NDP CAMPAIGN

A similar campaign is being waged in some 20 constituencies and the mass media by the "Group for Good Government" around a one-point platform: Defeat the NDP government, elect a "free-enterprise" majority. At its first public meeting, in Crescentwood constituency June 11, the GGG attracted more than 400 persons. A spokesman announced that the group will select candidates to be endorsed in ridings where more than one "free enterprise" (non-NDP) candidate has been nominated, according to the results of a professional poll to be completed June 21. He said the GGG will likely continue to exist after the election, regardless of the outcome, as an "anti-socialist" organization.

The GGG is basically the same group that entered the Winnipeg election in October 1971 (the

see page 4



Edward Schreyer

Manitoba NDP blurs class image

continued from page 1

first contested by the NDP on the party label), under the name of the Independent Citizens' Election Committee. The ICEC took control of Winnipeg city council, defeating NDPers on the previous council such as the Metro finance chairman, the Winnipeg deputy mayor and three aldermen.

According to Southam correspondent Nick Hills, writing in the Winnipeg Tribune June 8, "It is now almost a commonplace that the group has $1 million to spend, if it is needed — and that this money was pledged by half a dozen men in one afternoon." Some of the families involved in the GGG go back to the reactionary Committee of 1,000 which organized to smash the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.

Art Coulter, executive secretary of the Manitoba Federation of Labor, has attacked the GGG as the "anti-NDP monied interests" who are trying to "buy their way back into power." He charges that the group is "promoting a class struggle in Manitoba."

NDP BLURS CLASS IMAGE

The big business interests seem well aware of the clash of class interests involved in this electoral contest between their parties and the labor-based NDP. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of the NDP leadership. Schreyer and his ministers are campaigning complacently as the solid administrators and spokesmen for "responsible" capitalist government.

The spectacle of the NDP denouncing Tory-Liberal promises of higher pensions and lower taxes as "irresponsible" has prompted cynically appreciative commentary in the capitalist press.

"If there is a single remarkable feature to the campaign," wrote Free Press editorial page columnist Frances Russell June 16, "it is the fact that the NDP has taken upon itself the role of responsible guardian of the public finances, and the opposition parties have entered into an auction sale of new programs twinned with tax cuts.

"Finance Minister Saul Cherniack fits the role of the responsible financier like a glove. Dressed in a conservative grey suit, and bearing the knowledge that he, almost alone among his cabinet colleagues, enjoys the respect of the business community, the finance minister emerges from his office at intervals to tot up the total costs of Conservative and Liberal promises to date.

". . . It is the height of irony, since it is the NDP that has long enjoyed the reputation, deserved or not, of being the plumper for more and more public programs. Now the tune has changed, as it often does once a party long in opposition becomes government, and the NDP is revelling in its unaccustomed role."

MODEST REFORMS

Campaigning in defense of its "record" in office, and the status quo, the NDP holds out little prospect of major advance beyond the very modest reforms it legislated in the preceding four years. Its platform consists mainly of extensions of programs already under way, such as rural sewer and water installations, government "participation" with private capital in mineral exploration, a northern cost-of-living prices review board, free denticare from birth to age 12 only, and possible government entrance into fire insurance.

NDP ministers have turned down demands by the Manitoba Action Committee on the Status of Women that the government establish a universal day care program. Attorney-General Al Mackling protested day care would cost too much — yet this same government has donated 136 million dollars of public funds to private financiers in the Churchill Forest Industries sellout.

Schreyer responded to demands that he implement a women's rights program with the simple boast, in a letter to the Action Committee, that after all his government had established a "Women's Bureau" in the Department of Labor — a mere administrative maneuver unless it is accompanied by positive legislated reforms.

The NDP, incidentally, has only two women candidates running in seats held by the NDP at this time. And it has no native candidates. Two leaders of the native movement are running as independents, another as a Liberal — a telling commentary on the NDP's betrayal of native peoples' support for its native rights program of 1969.

Schreyer's only response to

criticism of his government's sorry record of violating native rights through its resource development projects, has been the paternalistic comment that he can't understand the natives' reaction. After all, he told an election audience in the northern community of Pine Falls, "I look into their eyes and say, 'Tell me, how many times did you ever get into the premier's office when Walter Weir or Duff Roblin were there.' Either never or else once in ten years."

NEED SOCIALIST POLICIES

The whole NDP approach is one of smug self-satisfaction, appealing to the conservative instincts of middle-class Manitobans. This may get a favorable response from rural businessmen; the editor of the rural-based Manitoba Chambers of Commerce publication, The Communicator, has all but openly endorsed the NDP, for example, urging that voters should not allow themselves "to be side-tracked by meaningless rhetoric or ideological hangups that no longer apply." (NDP policies aimed at preserving small towns and family farms have probably extended the economic life of many rural businesses for another few years.)

But in orienting to the backward side of the working class — antisocialist prejudices, parliamentarist illusions, etc. — the NDP fails to use the opportunity provided by the election to campaign for a mandate for the radical changes that are so necessary if working people are to defend and advance their interests.

In past years, the left-wing "Waffle" grouping, led by MLA Cy Gonick, has argued within the Manitoba NDP for socialist policies based on public ownership of major industries, free social welfare, massive public housing, state economic planning, etc. The Waffle has since abandoned the struggle; Gonick has retired from the legislature where he occasionally spoke out as a left critic of the Schreyer administration. No substantial force within the party is today advancing a socialist alternative to Schreyer.

WRONG STRATEGY

Writing in the June 6 issue of The Commonwealth, the NDP's official organ on the Prairies, columnist Charles Biesick attempted to answer those who argue that "the government didn't go far enough in that (left) direction." Biesick assures his readers he is for the socialist solution: "For my part, of course, I want to go the whole way." But Schreyer, he tells us, has done what he could, given that "the only vehicle towards social change we can use in Canada is parliamentary democracy" and given that social change by this method, while slow, "is as fast as the Canadian people are prepared to go . . ."

Apart from the touching confidence Biesick expresses in the redeeming virtues of "parliamentary democracy," the fallacy in this reasoning is twofold. First, Schreyer and the NDP leadership as a whole in no way indicate that they even share Biesick's objective, that they want to change things fundamentally. Secondly, the NDP campaign is in no way aimed at increasing popular desire and readiness for change. On the contrary, the whole campaign is geared to putting a damper on the masses' expectations — the NDP posing as moderate administrators of the capitalist system, in the normal tradition of any bourgeois incumbent.

Those who really want "to go the whole way" toward socialism, instead of providing a left cover for Schreyer should be actively seeking to mobilize the NDP's working class base; both within the party and independently of it, in struggles that challenge the power and privilege of big business, and point the way to anticapitalist change. Concretely, this means support of the campaigns by feminists to challenge the parties on where they stand on women's rights, support of native militants in their campaigns against discrimination and for control of their communities, active support of all labor struggles, and struggles for students' rights.

A campaign confined to the modest make-capitalism-work perspectives of Schreyer and Co. does little, if anything, to advance the power and self-confidence of working people. But a campaign that focusses clearly and directly on the key issues confronting the working class and points the way to the socialist solution can be a powerful step forward in developing the political class consciousness of the workers. Win or lose, that is the challenge both during and after the June 28 election.

labor Challenge #81 Jun 1973

Rally demands candidates defend right to abortion

by BRENDA DINEEN

WINNIPEG — More than 100 people participated in a spirited rally here June 9, demanding repeal of Canada's anti-abortion laws. The rally also defended Dr. Henry Morgentaler, currently facing criminal charges of performing abortions in his Montreal clinic.

The rally, called by the Manitoba Abortion Action Coalition (MAAC) challenged candidates in the current provincial election campaign to attend the rally and speak out for abortion law repeal. June Menzies, Liberal candidate in Winnipeg-Crescentwood, who is also head of the provincial Council of Women, past-president of the Manitoba Action Committee on the Status of Women and a member of the recently-appointed federal government's Status of Women Council, refused to address the rally. She said she was not making women's issues, particularly abortion, part of her platform. Speaking out on abortion, she said, would "alienate my constituents. I think I could do a better job for the (abortion rights) campaign once I'm in the Legislature."

Samia Friesen, NDP candidate in Winnipeg-Fort Rouge sent a message of solidarity to the rally. Breaking from the Schreyer government's refusal to support repeal, Friesen said, "I agree with the federal NDP position in favor of repealing the abortion laws from the Criminal Code. I wish you success in this important rally and I intend to participate in the future."

Among the speakers at the rally were Brenda Brand and Jan Eilis of the Pregnancy Information Service, the main abortion referral service in Manitoba. They told of the results of federal Justice minister Otto Lang's directive to provincial attorneys-general, to cut back in hospital abortions. Throughout Manitoba, the number of legal abortions granted through hospital committees has sharply decreased — in one Winnipeg hospital the number of abortions performed has been cut in half.

BRENDA DINEEN, leading activist in struggle for abortion law repeal in Manitoba.

The Winnipeg Women's Liberation Group, which in the past abstained from participating in the mass-action-oriented campaign, sent a contingent and a speaker to the rally. Also represented by speakers were the Manitoba Action Committee on the Status of Women, the League for Socialist Action and the University of Manitoba Student Union, represented by Young Socialist Katie Curtin.

The MAAC is planning summer activities in defense of Dr. Morgentaler and building the cross-Canada Tribunal on Abortion and Contraception, called by the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, to be held in Ottawa in November. Speaking for the MAAC, Janet Inglis told the rally: "We in the campaign for a woman's right to choose, intend to build the Tribunal into a massive protest rally. We intend to point our finger at the real criminal in this case — the federal government."

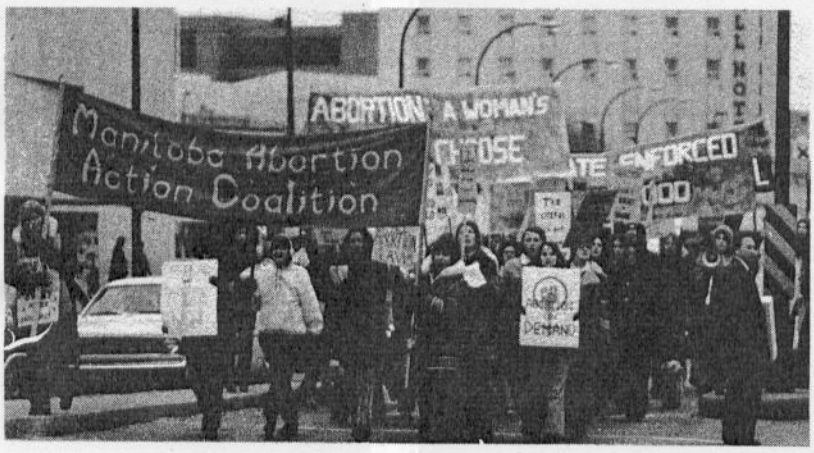


photo by Brenda Dineen

MANITOBA WOMEN MARCH. Oct. 21, 1972 in Winnipeg.

labor Challenge #81 Jun 1973

Ont. French rally behind teachers

by ED RANDOLPH

CORNWALL, June 12 — Upwards of one thousand people demonstrated today in this small eastern Ontario city in support of victimized French-speaking teachers. Demonstrators marched to the offices of the local school board, which has recently fired two French-speaking teachers and blacklisted three others for their support to a student strike for a French school during March and April.

The militant marchers, effectively marshalled by French-speaking students, chanted such slogans as "C'est le temps de faire quelque chose, c'est pour ca qu'on est ici" (It's time to do something, that's why we're here). They were joined by contingents of student and teachers from Ottawa and Sturgeon Falls, Ont., who have faced similar attacks on their linguistic rights.

Francois Beaulne, a prominent figure in the Ottawa East NDP and a vice-president of the Association Canadienne-Francaise de l'Ontario (ACFO) noted the significance of the demonstration in that for the first time Franco-Ontarien organizations such as ACFO and AEFO (Association des Enseignants Franco-Ontariens — Association of Franco-Ontarien teachers) were working together in a common front "operating outside of a strictly bourgeois approach to the defense of Franco-Ontarien rights." The broadness and cohesiveness of the action was a direct result of study sessions initiated by teachers in French-speaking schools across the province, and by the example of mass demonstrations organized by Cornwall students in the past.

A sharp contrast to the militancy of the demonstration was provided by the cynical attitude expressed by the federal and provincial politicians who "represent" Cornwall. Conservative Fernand Guindon, who is minister of Labor in the Davis government of Ontario, was quoted as predicting the demonstration could only produce "chicanery and violence." Lucien Lamoureux, MP for the area and Speaker of the House of Commons refused to support the teachers, referring the matter to the reactionary, English-dominated school board.

The marchers' chants of "Ce n'est q'un debut, continuons le combat" (It's only the beginning, let's continue the struggle) should be a warning to the Guindons, Lamoureux and boards of education that Franco-Ontariens are finding the power of their numbers and are moving into action, knowing the justice of their cause.

Messages of support for the Cornwall teachers may be forwarded through the offices of Le Comite Ad Hoc de l'Association des Enseignants Franco-Ontariens, 60, rue Boteler, Suite 209, Ottawa, Ont. K1N 5A5.

Labor Challenge Fund Drive

We made it – biggest drive ever!

by THE EDITORS

Thanks. You, our readers and supporters made the 1973 Labor Challenge Fund Drive the largest ever. While we did not make our full goal, we came very close, better than 99 percent! You sent us $23,811, to publish this paper for the next year.

We asked for a lot, and we got it. Funds came from large and small donations, from monthly sustainer pledges, from banquets, auctions, parties, etc.

Now it's up to us, the editors, to produce the kind of paper you paid for — a paper that declares its bias in favor of those struggling for social change, and speaks for and to those struggles. That's a healthy antidote to the big business press in this country!

AREA	GOAL	REC'D	%
Vancouver	$7,200	$7,229	101
Ottawa	750	750	100
Edmonton	1,500	1,500	100
Toronto	13,000	13,000	100
Orillia	150	150	100
YS/LJS	500	500	100
Kitchener-Waterloo-Guelph	200	180	90
Hamilton	200	60	30
Winnipeg	750	217	29
General	200	225	113
TOTAL	$24,450	$23,811	99

labor Challenge #81 Jun 1973

Freedom of press won in Ottawa Mall

OTTAWA — After a long campaign spearheaded by the Young Socialists (YS) and the League for Socialist Action (LSA) here, the right to sell newspapers on the downtown Sparks St. Mall has been won.

At a meeting June 4, City Council adopted a report stating that the Mall administrators had exceeded their powers in banning paper sales.

Ever since the Mall was opened several years ago, sellers of underground and radical newspapers have been harassed by the police, ostensibly because they had not first obtained a "business permit" from the Mall Authority, made up of Sparks St. businessmen. The undemocratic regulations of the Mall Authority have been the target of a years-long campaign by socialists, the antiwar movement and the underground press.

Last summer, Joe Young, then organizer of the Ottawa YS, was arrested for selling the newspapers Young Socialist and Labor Challenge on the Mall. He was subsequently convicted and served a brief jail sentence in February.

Young's jailing, and defense activities organized by the Committee for Freedom of the Press, resulted in City Council's appointment of a special committee to investigate the powers of the Mall Authority.

The YS and the LSA held a picket line outside City Council chambers on June 4, selling seven copies of Young Socialist and Labor Challenge to council members. The favorable decision of City Council and the picket line received front page coverage in the Ottawa Citizen, Ottawa's leading daily.

Joe Young

In Brief

COURT RULES MORGENTALER MUST STAND TRIAL

Dr. Henry Morgentaler, currently charged on three counts with violating the federal anti-abortion laws, has been held over for trial. At the preliminary hearing which ended on June 5, a woman who had obtained an abortion at his Montreal clinic declared that she could not identify who had performed the operation. The judge nevertheless authorized holding a full trial.

A longtime outspoken advocate of women's right to abortion, Dr. Morgentaler faces life imprisonment if convicted.

FEMINIST SYMPOSIUM ENDORSES ABORTION TRIBUNAL

About 400 women and 50 men participated in a "Feminist Symposium" June 1-3 in Montreal. Participants voted unanimously to endorse the Tribunal on Abortion and Contraception, to be held in Ottawa Nov. 3. The Tribunal, jointly called by the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws and the Front Commun pour l'Abrogation des Lois sur l'Avortement, will hear testimony to indict the federal government for its callous and inhuman treatment of women under the existing abortion laws. Enthusiastic support was also offered to the campaign to defend Dr. Henry Morgentaler (see note above).

A prominent figure at the conference was British feminist Selma James, who spoke to 700 people at the opening rally. Other participants in the conference represented a variety of political tendencies and views.

But despite the size and breadth of participation, and the very lively discussions during the weekend, the conference accomplished very little. The discussion, which centered around the question "what strategy for the women's movement?" decided on no ongoing activities nor means to coordinate action.

OS-#54 Duplicate (in our file) In

On Thursday July 19, 1973 I challenged John R and Phil C to put their revisionist views of our strategic orientation to the NDP on paper and open a debate in the movement--I also told them that I intended to go off the payroll in September.

The meeting was informal prior to the PC meeting totake place that eveneing. Its purpose as far as John was concerend was to try to work out an agreement with me about the proposed ddsolution of the N Metro branch. They dont want to discuss this matter in front of Ruth T who is replacing Walter until the proposition is signed sealed and delivered (until I am lined up or at least my criticisms whatever they may think they are are used to provide adjusmtnets of the most gauche errors.

They do not appear to know that I told Gordon that in my opinion we should go along with the disolution. He is not prepared to be organizer, they are not prepared to have Bushman Dymytichyn or ---- or push Bea to take over organizer or make a real contribution towards sustaining it so why should Gord, Harry etc break their ass to do so. Besides Gord thinks his silation from the downtown operation where the overwhleming bulk of the comrades are is bad for him politically. At anyrate they consult George and Gary and agree to proceded tonight with a short report--a progress report.

So I raise the matter of our fi ancial position and then tell them that I intend to go off payroll. I told them that I took the post of chairman in the interests dff the international, that I havent changed my views on the key issues at dispute in the pre-convention discussion , that I am more convinced of the correctness of the ut views, that I am note prepared to write for the paper which in my opninion is irrelevant, that I am in total disagreement with the line that it is promoting on the NDP etc. They want my critisisms of the paper, on the NDP, that I should write them up. I ~~mixdx~~ repeated Phil's conversation with me at the camp several weeks ago about the unifinished business of the convention....Dick's attack in his final words of the report on the concept of unconditional though critical support of the ndp as being Ross Dowson's view--his document. Suprisingly John R tried to mealy mouth that the document was mine and whn I blasted him he stepped back that Dick had never accepted t is formulation. ~~[illegible]~~. He asked me to write up my critism--I told him very firmly that it was not my reposbbility to go thruogh the pased of LC with a fine tooth comb and argue the case with interpretation of this article and that parapgraph or sentence that the line has been changed. I sai d you have openly said you are changing the line. It is your responsibility to write it out and explain this to the membership and I charge you to do this

I do not recall Phil's reaction but John did show some disturbance about my inte ntion. Why did I have to go off the paytroll. I told him that they cannot be any elite in our move ent--persons on staff who do not write for the paper or speeak at the forums--that I was not old as Cannon and out of the picture etc I also said that by no means would they care for the results of the approach of my research that it i is agreed that I do in the camp. J said he expected my research to procede certain ways. I should ignore what this or that person might say about my not producing for the movement--that t ere was no reason for my to go off staff--that they underst ood that I was working for the movement etc. I told him my mind was mde up.

I thought this necessary to say now as in the first week in August everyone will be together in Oberlin and they will be able to tel l everyone and take any acti on they think appropriate.

Earlier that week I had a discussion with Lynda about her decision to infor m the leadership that she had changed her mind of Canadian national ism. I tried not to show my irritatioh. Iwould appear that Zane has pulled back and that no joint statement will appear. But she is going ahead she said. Her reasons are scanty She had a position which she does not now have and everyone should know. Her change of position is due to JackB's document and rethinking. She rejects the concept of the essence of nationalism being progressive. I asked here why now--answer-because I have changed my mind. I told her how it will be interpreted--just as we are supposed to be reopening the discussion--a real blow at the development of the discus ion to have this three person change of mind---it with him is a sort of stab in the back of Ross Dowson. Unfortunte how I turned the heat on her--do what you have to do--but it is a stab in the back. But when next I saw her she seemed to be bouncing. Gord is very harsh both on Dennis and on Lynda. One would think that Lynda would have gone to the meeting on the Thrsday nite to explain to others but she did not. It appears that she phoned HK to tell him to play a more positive role. As usual she led me all

kinds of gossip about the inefficiency and confusion through the movmenet--I tld her in a nice way not to tell me this as I was not really interested--but that she should realize that this comes from the political confusion and false positims of the movement
After the PC meeting on Thursday Dennis aopraoched me to have a discussion. He told me that he had changed his view on nationalism. He said notning abong the lines that he appears to have told Gord--that I have betryed the stmggle at the con vetuon--had given it up for the international dispute or had suddenly switche d to a two nationalisms line. He told me that he doesn't think we answered JohnR seven points--the essence question which he admits that he was fater of.
Ddidn't say anything about me freezing him out of the writing of the joint UT statement--noe of these . I took advantage of the situation to te ll him about the line of the paper on the NDP and my disagreement with it.
The PC meeting kept me away from the informal meeting to discuss Dennis and Lydna's views. Gord was pleased with it though netie r D and L came not for that matter Harry K. Regula's contribution appears to have been good--hold in-keep a low profile, new elements have to develop some understanding of the problem before anything can come off.

The Sunday camp tU discussion came off well. Vern and Brian came out to see that all went well with their little talks. Both of them were obviaously out of it. Vern named the TU coordinating commttee--obviously a joke-persons largely with no trade union experience but safe. It had some impact on Vern--he conceded that he had been wrong--we needed all together meetings, the problem was that in the past we had not had a specific talk subject. Clfff rose to the situation--talked with Vic and Hugh about going into GY. Lynda D thought it good .Both Bob and Stue responded well. Unofrutnately I had to play a key role. Jim appears to have got into a heart to heart talk with Anne about problems of the movement. Anne ended up--what are we to do --we cannot go back to Ross who destroyed Vern and you(JM) I wonder what Vern and Anned now think--and Cliff told me that the ride down with me in his truck was a terrific experience for him politically--- in the course of that ride he told me tha that he had not understood what the talk and dispute on nationalism was all about --althouhg it shluld be noted he played a vigorous role in the debate AT the ttime.

Join the Gang
at Camp Poundmaker

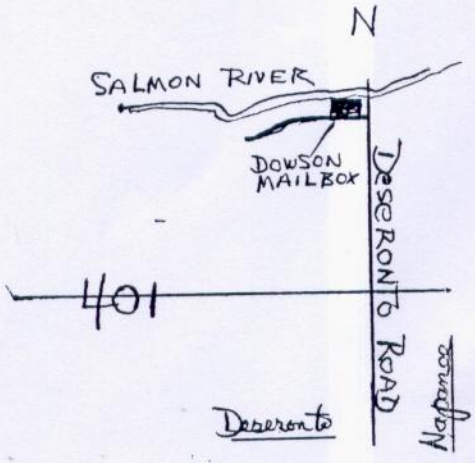
this coming holiday
weekend
August 3
4
5

contact Ross Dowson
(416) 961-4554
leave a message
on answering
machine

How to get there-

by car - turn north on Deseronto Rd at the 570 Km marker on Hwy 401 - 136 miles east of Toronto, 35 miles west of Kingston

regular bus service to Deseronto & rail service to Napanee



What you will find there-

approximately 26 acres of well-treed, rolling varied land on the banks of the Salmon River, with several small cabins and a large lodge with a big stone fireplace, large refrigerator, electric stove, good water, pots, pans, plates utensils, cards, table tennis, baseball equipment, books

Bring flashlight, insect repellent, your own bedding wear slacks or pants

Camp Poundmaker is centered in one of the finest recreational areas of America

to the east is Kingston and the 1,000 Islands to

just to the south are th fabulous sand dunes and beach of Outlook Park

just north of Kaladar is the impressive palisade in Bon Echo Park

Subscribe to Internatic al Viewpoint (fortnight a 165 French franc bank money order payable to IV, 2 rue Richard Lenoi 93108, Montreuil, Franc airmail 13 issues

“Gus Horowitz on Germain's errors on the national question
– "July /73 Vol. X No. 10" (SWP-US Discussion Bulletin)
(A transcription of notes taken by Ross Dowson)

NOTE: [Square brackets] in the text are clarifications on who is speaking, (standard brackets) are notes by the website editor.

('Germain' is Ernest Mandel, a leading European figure in the Fourth International; Horowitz is one of the generation of young new leaders of SWP-US, who while he briefly and dutifully pays homage to the LSA-LSO majority position on Canadian nationalism, presents the insights of the great Marxist thinkers on the phenomenon of nationalism.)

[Horowiz speaking:] Germain's two main errors: 1) downgrades importance of the national question, 2) emphasis on danger that nationalist demands will play into the hands of the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation – in effect hands nationalist demands over to the bourgeois & petty bourgeois elements of the nationalist movements.

Claim Mandel's definition is that a nation is nationally oppressed if and only if it is a formal colony, therefore [it is] misleading according to Mandel to say some colonies like India, Indonesia or Nigeria [which] have formal independence are nationally oppressed (p. 30)

[Horowitz] claims that we [the SWP-US and LSA-LSO] have never maintained that Argentina or Brazil have overthrown foreign national oppressors even though these are relatively advanced semi-colonies.

[Horowitz quoting] Leon Trotsky on semi-colonial Mexico. [Horowitz adds:] 'On a deeper level Comrade Germain is in error in attempting to draw a sharp dividing line between foreign national oppression and foreign economic exploitation.'

[Quoting Mandel, p. 30:] 'Where foreign national oppression is eliminated foreign economic exploitation remains and increases.' *[Horowitz]* – This overlooks the fact that the two are intertwined; Ecnomic control by imperialism is the basis for maintaining national oppression and where the former still exists, national oppression continues. (R.D.: see evolution of Canada from a British colony). *[Horowitz]* – Mandel fails to make the distinction between formal political independence and genuine national liberation.

[Horowitz, perhaps quoting Trotsky] 'In the semi-colonies although the indigenous bourgeoisie is in nominal control of its state, its overall economic subordination to imperialism is combined with and tied into its qualitative political and military weakness relative to imperialism. This means that it is unable to defend the interests of the nation against foreign imperialism. Behind the outer mask of independence lies foreign political and social as well as economic domination.'

Mandel asks (p.30) 'Is it true that because the national bourgeoisie is dependent upon imperialism, it is unable to break all ties with imperialism, therefore cannot lead a victorious struggle against foreign oppression?' – Horowitz answers YES!

Page 2: Horowitz quotes Germain that 'the struggle against national oppression is not an anti-capitalist struggle. It is a struggle for a bourgeois democratic demand, [and he] attacks this. (RD – get back to your approach; Economics – [is] Canada a semi-colony?

Horowitz attacks Mandel for saying in the next sentence – 'The existence of the world capitalist system is not an absolute obstacle to the overthrow of national oppression under conditions of imperialism' – with the question: 'If Comrade Germain were right about ending foreign national oppression without overthrowing capitalism what would this do to the theory of permanent revolution?' (reference to the iconic Trotskyist theory holding that only by achieving proletarian power can the revolution be consolidated –ed.)

Horowitz resorts to the concept of 'genuine national liberation' – that only a 'genuine' (*liberation)* can be won through a socialist revolution.

Quotes Leon Trotsky – from his pamphlet 'The Ukraine and Sectarian Muddleheads': "….the national struggle (is) one of the most labyrinthine and complex [factors] but the same time extremely important forms of the class struggle."

From dealing with 'Germain's error of belittling the national question in the semi-colonies' he takes up its extension 'to the oppressed nationalities in the advanced captialist countries such as the Québécois people....' Horowitz attacks Germaine for saying that Black and Chicano (nationalism in the USA) is qualitatively different; (he) says the revolution in Canada (will be) most likely a combined revolution, combining the Québécois national independence struggle with the proletarian socialist revolution in Quebec and in all of Canada.

[Horowitz] Quotes Mandel to say that 'there is a danger that the mass struggle around demands for national self-determination may be absorbed by the bourgoisie.' Gus says – 'Xactly wrong.'

[RD:] 'N.B.' *[Horowitz]* : 'Be concrete: that is rule number one in dealing with the national question.' Refers to the Chilean masses carrying the Chilean flag – not reactionary when expressing (nationalist) sentiment. *[RD note:]* See Amchitka (a reference to Canadian youth carrying Canadian flags during mass protests against threats of US nuclear testing off Northwest B.C. and Alaska –ed.)

Page 3: Horowitz takes on Mandel's concept that as a rule nationalism is reactionary because it is bourgeois ideology.

[Horowitz] – 'If nationalism remains only a bourgeois ideology because that is the way it originated historically, from what material basis does it arise when there is no significant historical possibility for the development of a strong bourgeoisie and where there doesn't even exist a significant petty-bourgeoisie as in the case with the Black and Chicano people? What are the material class origins of this nationalism?'

In 'The Transitional Program' (a key document of the Fourth International –ed) 'The central task of the colonial and semi-colonial countries is the agrarian revolution, i.e., the overthrow of the

imperialist yoke.' *[Horowitz]* : – note again how Leon Trotsky considered national independence an important task yet to be achieved in **semi-colonial countries**.

R.D. – N.B. *[Part II: Horowitz]* deals with English Canadian nationalism (But in Quebec he (Horowitz) sees only English Canadian oppressors). 'But in English Canada where the basic national tasks have been resolved under the hegemony of the bourgeoisie, nationalism promotes false consciousness (ideology in the strict sense of the word.) It doesn't help advance the struggle against oppression but on the contrary meshes completely with bourgeois ideology including national exclusiveness and chauvinism, promotes subordination of the workers to the bourgeoisie and is completely reactionary. The comrades of the LSA-LSO understand very well this reactionary rôle of nationalist ideology in imperialist oppressor nations when they overwhelmingly rejected the proposal raised in thier organization to support Canadian nationalism.'

[Horowitz] Says Germain makes retreat from([his) formula (that) nationalism of oppressors (is) reactionary nationalism --- under a blanket pronouncement that 'with the epoch of imperialism, nationalism as a rule becomes reactionary; whether it is "purely" bourgeois or petty bourgeois in character.'

Page 4: On the diversity of Lenin quotes, he has a quote of Lenin: "the bourgeois nationalism of **any** oppressed nation has a general democratic content **that is directed against** oppression and it is this content that we **unconditionally** support."

[Horowitz] gives the accurate historical origin: "In this way, the term 'nationalism' (and also 'bourgeois democracy') came to stand for the ideology (false consciosuness) of the bourgeoisie. The Marxist movement while recognizing the progressive historical rôle of the rising bourgeoisie, never supported this bourgeois ideology. That is why so many quotations can be found from the great Marxists attacking nationalism (and also bourgeois democracy)."

[Horowitz?]: ...but he is wrong in counterposing proletarian nationalist consciousness to nationalism in the oppressed nations. [Horowitz?] ..It is the dual function of nationalism that explains the seeming contradictions or discrepancies in the Marxist classics – opposing nationalism as bourgeois ideology, but also pointing to the progressive democatic content of the nationalism of the oppressed.

[Horowitz] quotes Engels and Marx: 'I (Engels) therefore hold the view that two nations in Europe have not only the right but even the duty to be nationalistic before they can become internationalistic: the Irish and the Poles. They are most internationalistic when they are genuinely nationalistic.' (1882, Feb. 7 to Kautsky).

[Horowitz] Quotes Lenin to Second Congress [of the Communist International in Moscow –ed.] *[RD: see full quote]* on the use of the term national revolutionary for the term bourgeois democratic: 'There has been a certain rapprochement between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and that of the colonies, so that very often – perhaps even in most cases – the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries, while it does support the national movement, is in full

accord with the imperialist bourgeoisie, i.e., joins forces with it against all revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes'

"N.B." *[RD]* Page 5: *[Horowitz]* : 'Trotsky pointed out the necessity for communists to **politically** combat petty bourgeois nationalism in Catalonia and not to give it a communist coloring, but at the same time he emphasized that in the given circumstances Catalan nationalism is a progressive revolutionary factor: Spanish nationalism is a reactionary imperialist factor.' (pages 109-10, 155-56 'The Spanish Revolution' [by Trotsky].

[RD] – (This is an) Excellent quote by (from) the Old Man (Trotsky) that violated Mandel's quote about nationalism being reactionary – on Indochina; see Horowitz-- p.13. Calls nationalism of Indochinese peasant a 'revolutionary element'

'But the nationalism of the mass of the people is the elementary form taken by their just and progressive hatred for the most skillful, adroit and ruthless of their oppressors, that is, foreign imperialism. The proletariat does not have the right to turn its back on **this kind of nationalism.** On the contrary, it must demonstrate in practice that it is the most consistent and devoted fighter for the nationalist liberation of Indochina.'

[Horowitz] : We incorporate within the program of proletarian nationalism the just nationalist demands of the oppressed nations. [Horowitz] refers to 'Marxism vs. Ultraleftism – Key issues in Healy's challenge to the FI.' (a SWP pamphlet, polemic against the leader of the British section –ed.) On Cuba -- 'even in formally independent semi-colonies such as Cuba' prior to the revolution; Cuba – a colony of the Spanish crown then 'to all intents and purposes a colony of US capital.'

[Horowitz] says Mandel's position that nationalism in Quebec cannot be progressive because there exists an indigenous bourgeoisie – hence the SWP position on Black and Chicano (is) correct because (there is no significant Black or Chicano) bourgeoisie – *[Horowitz]* says that's not our reason (for support.) *[Horowitz]* quotes from the SWP booklet] 'Freedom Now': 'Nationalism itself is an empty vessel which can be filled with vastly different contents – Negro Marxists have to imbue the nationalist sentiments and struggles of their people with a revolutionary, scientific, anti-capitalist content and direction.'

[RD note] It would appear that the SWP position is not based on an ethnic or race basis. But (it is a) class concept; and suggests a Black Party would be proletarian although in a nationalist guise because of the overwhelming proletarian character of Black (nationalism) – and the weakness of (the Black) bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie.

(end of notes)

Key issues facing NDP

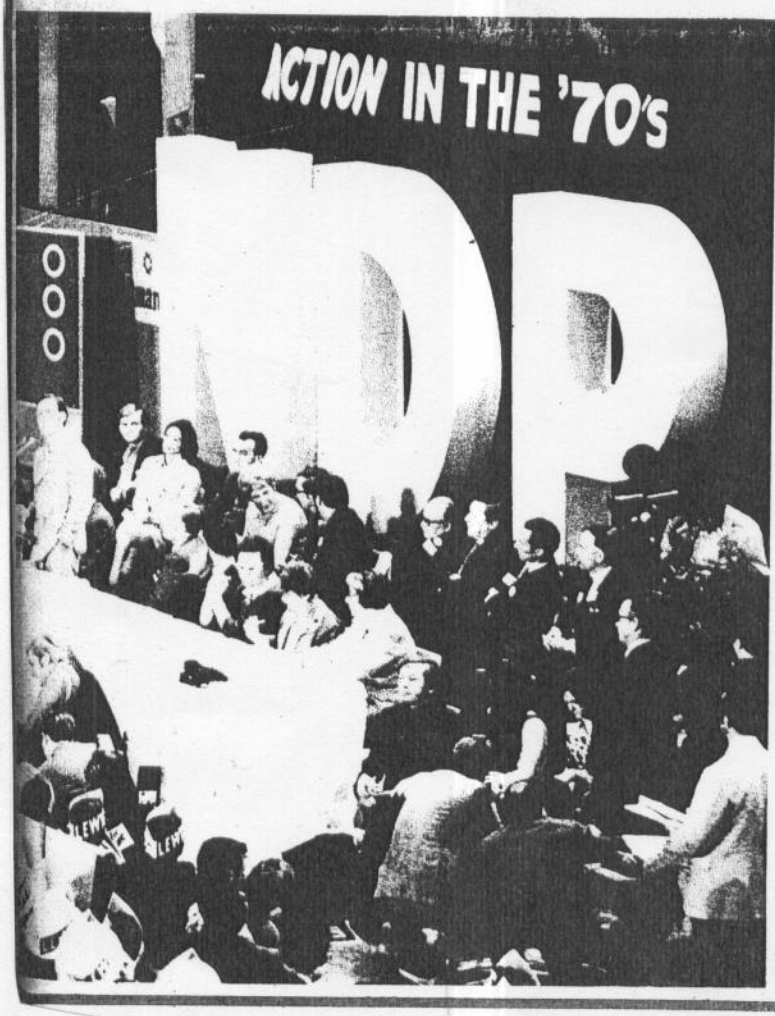
- Energy and resource ripoff
- Women's liberation and the NDP
- Socialism and Internationalism
- Program to fight inflation and unemployment

labor Challenge

JULY 9, 1973
Vol. 4, No. 12 [82]
25 CENTS

NDP convention July 19-22

Delegates must fight for socialist policies



by THE EDITORS

The federal convention of the New Democratic Party, opening in Vancouver July 19, meets in a context of deepening class struggle and radicalization in Canada.

Rising inflation and high unemployment are undermining workers' living standards. Big business governments in Ottawa and the provinces are responding to increasing competitive pressures on industry with restrictions on the trade unions. Militant class battles are shaping up in key industries across the country.

The struggle for self-determination and independence of the Quebecois has challenged the very structures and institutions of the Canadian capitalist state, and given a mighty impulse to labor's struggle in that oppressed nation.

Broad layers of the population — women, youth, native peoples, Acadiens, etc. — are radicalizing in struggles against their oppression and super-exploitation.

There is widespread and growing popular opposition to the corporate "ripoff" of Canada's natural resources, and a desire for radical measures to stop it.

These developments create a wide audience for the socialist alternative. This convention of the NDP could help make the party a vital instrument in the struggle against capitalist power and privilege by adopting positions of all-out support for labor and student struggles, Quebec self-determination, women's liberation and aboriginal and treaty rights of the native people. The delegates are challenged to commit the party to a fighting strategy to develop the struggles of these layers of the population in an anticapitalist direction.

Such a program is spelled out elsewhere in this issue of Labor Challenge. (See pages 6-8)

The NDP leadership at all levels has shown a complete incapacity to respond positively to the far-reaching challenge posed by this new radicalization.

The federal leadership, as represented by the parliamentary caucus under the direction of David Lewis, has failed to capitalize on the increased attention to the party stemming from its "balance-

→p.2

p. 2

of-power" position in parliament to advance a clear programmatic alternative to the policies of the big-business Liberals and Conservatives. Instead, the NDP's parliamentary opportunism, its desire to "make Parliament work," has reduced its caucus to little more than a faithful left flank of the Trudeau government. In return for very modest legislative concessions (higher old-age pensions, prices review board, personal income tax concessions), the NDP has committed itself to virtually unconditional support of the Liberal government. Lewis's strategy is in fact making the Liberal government "work" — against the NDP.

Lewis's claim that the NDP would support the Liberals only so long as they bring in "progressive" legislation was exposed as a lie on June 26, when the NDP caucus saved the life of the Trudeau government by voting with the Liberals against a Conservative motion to cut off funds for the Police and Security Planning and

see page 2

Editorial

...NDP convention

continued from page 1

Analysis Group, a secret spy agency set up by the Solicitor-General in the aftermath of the War Measures crisis to study left-wing and labor organizations.

The main area of advance for the NDP since its founding 12 years ago has been in Western Canada, where the party now forms the government in three provinces. The election of NDP governments in Saskatchewan and British Columbia is a qualitative step forward since the last federal convention in 1971. But here, too, the party leadership has totally failed to present any sort of anticapitalist alternative. B.C. premier David Barrett frankly expressed the perspectives of all three NDP governments when he told a press conference April 4 that his government is "putting together the same sort of legislative package as Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal which saved American capitalism."

Saving capitalism is not how the majority of the thousands of working men and women who invest their time and effort in building the NDP would be likely to describe their own intentions.

In the last analysis, it is because he has no intention of taking on the powerful corporations that run B.C., that Barrett is so reluctant to repeal the province's hated antilabor laws, or implement the NDP's far-reaching program of women's rights — despite growing demands for such action from the rank and file of the party and trade unions.

The right-wing leadership of the NDP has shown much more enthusiasm at suppressing the party's left wing than in fighting the capitalists, harassing and witch-hunting those forces who advocate a more radical program. At the 1971 federal convention, the "Waffle" grouping tapped a profound sentiment in the ranks that the party should move to the left, winning the support of over one-third of the delegates for Waffle leader Laxer's campaign for the party leadership against David Lewis. The NDP and trade union bureaucrats responded by moving in Ontario to ban the Waffle, encouraging it to desert the party as many Waffle activists decided to do in August 1972.

The NDP leadership is imbued with a commitment to working within and defending the institutions of this system. They express and reproduce the thinking of the labor bureaucracy, relatively privileged elements who, far from seeking to overthrow capitalism, have learned to live with the system and even personally benefit from it. They view the capitalist state as "neutral," above social classes. Parliament and the law are their vocation. In their loyalty to the existing state structures, they cannot even conceive of supporting Quebecois independentism, which challenges the territorial and constitutional integrity of the Canadian state. In international politics, they instinctively support "democratic" imperialism against the world revolution.

They will always take the path of least resistance to big business — e.g. favoring reform of the tax system over nationalization as a means of dealing with the "corporate welfare bums." In office, they are caretakers of capitalism, not its undertakers.

The formation of the NDP in 1961 was a big step forward for the Canadian working class, breaking the workers organizationally from the big business parties. The mood at the founding convention was symbolized by the coffin borne aloft by enthusiastic delegates, the words "Liberals" and "PCs" inscribed on its side. As they develop elementary political consciousness, the working people continue to express their desire for change through support for the NDP.

But the present leadership cannot project or implement the changes that are required. In place of the parliamentarism, nationalism and reformism of the NDP leadership, the working people need a socialist program based on class struggle and internationalism, and a leadership committed to implement that program.

The vast majority of the party ranks and the working class do not yet understand this. But the recurring challenge to the leadership's "make-capitalism-work" remedies indicate the need felt by the party base to go beyond the present political positions of the party.

Thus while the Waffle, the most recent manifestation of this tension in the federal NDP, is no longer present, the conditions that gave rise to it remain, and will feed new crises within the party. The Waffle, an early manifestation of the impact of the youth radicalization, developed prior to a radicalization in the labor movement of the scope required to shake the power base of the leadership. As the class struggle mounts, it will find expression both in rank-and-file opposition currents in the unions and in opposition formations in the NDP which this time can develop deep roots in the labor base of the party.

The program for such opposition currents must be geared to building the independent power and political consciousness of the working class and its allies, mobilizing all the exploited and oppressed layers of the population in the struggle to break the power of big business, to take ownership and control of this economy we have built, and set about the construction of a socialist society.

This is the course consistently projected by the forces around the League for Socialist Action.

Armed with this strategy, delegates can make the 1973 convention of the NDP a vital step toward rebuilding a mass left wing within the Canadian labor party.

labor Challenge

#82
p. 3

Challenge of convention
Socialist policies for the NDP

by HOWARD BROWN

Massive unemployment, runaway inflation, anti-labor legislation, together constituting a general attack on working people's standard of living: these are central issues confronting delegates to the federal NDP convention in Vancouver July 19 — 22. While the corporations receive multi-million dollar tax concessions, social services are cut back. Natural resources are developed anarchically, in the interest of capitalist profits, at the expense of native rights, and causing ecological destruction and regional underdevelopment. The weight of monopoly agribusiness squeezes farmers from the land at an accelerated pace. All these pressing problems must receive the delegates' attention.

The student and antiwar movements, the women's liberation movement and the growing Quebec independence movement will have their impact on the convention's deliberations.

The challenge before the NDP convention is the elaboration of a program aimed at resolving the many problems which confront working people as part of their everyday lives. The imperative is not merely a legislative program, to be broadcast during irregular election campaigns, but a program of struggle. A program which can organize the widespread discontent of working people into campaigns in defense of their interests and against capitalist power.

Not commentary from Parliament Hill but real involvement on a day-to-day basis in the struggles of working people must be the center of the NDP's activity. The party must commit its resources to building mass movements against capitalist oppression and exploitation, from the women's liberation movement to trade-union struggles.

Rooted in capitalism, the fundamental problems confronting working people will be finally resolved only with the establishment of socialism: social ownership of the resources, factories and financial institutions and planned production controlled by working people.

The NDP leadership has shown itself incapable of a consistent defense of the interests of working people. At most it defends them in part and falteringly, and only when under the pressure of the party ranks and mass movements independent of the NDP. It astutely avoids any showdown battles with capitalist power.

Yet such battles are unavoidable in the struggles of working people. It is up to socialists in the NDP to pose the class struggle alternative to the reformism of the party leadership. Organized in a left caucus for the convention they can most effectively fight for socialist policies.

David Lewis

Open corporation books! Nationalize the profiteers!

While the corporations rake in near record-making profits, inflation spirals upward at a pace not seen since the Korean war. Leading the consumer-price index are runaway food prices which have leaped nearly 15 percent over the last year. The cost of housing has not been for behind as the land speculators and developers reap super profits at working people's expense.

Mounting inflation makes it increasingly difficult for working people to obtain even the basic necessities of life. It hits hardest all the most exploited and oppressed: the poor and unorganized, those on fixed incomes.

The government's only response to the escalating cost of living has been appointment of a high-salaried food prices review board, limited to monitoring food price increases, and completely powerless to stem the rising tide of inflation.

The NDP's parliamentary caucus has called for a prices review board with the power to roll back food-price increases. Such a board, under workers' control and with complete access to corporate records could be a powerful measure in combatting the rising cost of living. An effective prices review board could only be implemented under the pressure of massive mobilizations of the trade union movement. The NDP has failed to recognize the necessity of such mobilizations. And it hasn't elaborated a rounded program to protect working people from the rising cost of living.

The NDP, in conjunction with the trade unions, farmers' and consumers' organizations should launch a massive campaign to open the books, the records and financial transactions of the monopolies in food — and all the other corporate profiteers. The supermarket tycoons have spent hours of testimony before the House of Commons special committee on food prices denying responsibility for the high cost of eating. Let them prove it!

As part of a campaign to defend working people from the escalating cost of living, struggles must be launched for wages geared to keeping up with the rising cost of living. Workers need cost of living clauses written into every union contract, assuring that wages keep pace with rising prices. Similar clauses should be written into retirement benefit schemes, Canada's unemployment insurance program and so on.

The present organizing drive among white collar workers by the Canadian Labor Congress should be intensified and expanded in a general campaign to organize the unorganized. The NDP should campaign against legislation inhibiting union organization. NDP provincial governments should revise minimum wage standards

→P.4

labor Challenge 182
p. 4

sharply upward to levels comparable with trade union rates of pay.

The giant food monopolies, many of them integrated from field or feedlot to supermarket shelf, are reaping superprofits at every level of production. The same supermarket chains which rob the consumer at the checkout counter decree the price of agricultural products at the farm gate. Together with the farm supplies monopolies — the machinery, farm-chemical and fertilizer outfits — and the banks, they catch farmers in a cost-price squeeze which threatens to drive two-thirds of them from the land by 1980.

Both from the standpoint of consumers and farmers the nationalization of the giant food empires should be placed on the order of the day. Under the control of workers and farmers, working people can be guaranteed cheap, nutritious food while farmers are assured a fair return on their labor.

The Tories' proposal for a freeze on wages and prices must be firmly opposed, as a matter of principle, by the NDP. Wherever such policies have been pursued by capitalist governments it has been at the expense of working people. A wage freeze, enthusiastically enforced by the employers, would make it impossible for workers even to begin to catch up with the inflated cost of living. A price freeze on the other hand is almost impossible to enforce, for to be effective it would have to be applied at every level of production, while individual capitalists would circumvent the freeze. Moreover, prices frozen at their present level would only guarantee the corporations continuing massive profits.

Shorter work week to fight unemployment

Faced with increasing international competition Canadian capitalism attempts to protect its profits by cutting back on its production and overhead costs by forcing down wages, cutting back on social services and shifting the burden of taxation onto working people.

That is the maning of the "corporate tax ripoff," and the cutbacks in education spending which have sparked massive resistance from teachers and students. In the interests of forcing down the capitalists' wage bill the Liberal government, in the guise of "fighting inflation," has deliberately created massive unemployment, maintaining a cheap labor pool which at the same time weakens the bargaining position of the trade union movement.

Canada now has the highest rate of unemployment of any country in the advanced industrialized world.

The NDP in parliament has advocated increased government expenditures on public works and has lobbied for tax measures stimulating consumer demand in an effort to create employment. Yet the parliamentary caucus voted for the Liberal government's budget which even its authors predicted would not reduce unemployment to less than 5.2 percent of the work force. Hardly a satisfactory objective from the standpoint of working people!

Central to any serious campaign for fighting unemployment must be the demand for the shorter work week, which has been made an issue in contract negotiations by several major unions this year. The thirty-hour work week without reduction in weekly pay, ("30 for 40"), can be a powerful measure for providing employment by spreading available work around. Through such measures as the sliding scale of hours, the new technology can benefit workers by shortening working hours and preventing layoffs.

'I want it for dinner . . . not a transplant.'

The NDP should mobilize behind union struggles for a shorter work week while popularizing the demand in parliament. Where the NDP has formed governments the shorter work week should be immediately legislated. If the companies complain that they can't operate under such conditions they should be nationalized under workers' control — as should all plants shut down by the employers.

Cutbacks in social services should be reversed. Increased corporate taxes can fund a massive program of public works — schools, hospitals, tenant-controlled public housing — creating socially useful employment. Jobs must be guaranteed to all; the unemployed should be compensated at trade union rates of pay as long as they are out of work.

labor Challenge #82
P 5

Defend self-determination of Quebec

Rooted in the domination of the Quebec economy by Canadian and U.S. capital under the supervision of the federal state, the national oppression of the Quebecois is evident in the superexploitation of Quebec workers, distortion of the nation's economy by the investment policies of foreign capital, and in the prevailing system of language discrimination.

The past decade has seen growth of a massive sentiment, encompassing broad layers of Quebec society in favor of Quebec independence. This resurgent nationalism has been reflected in the movement in defense of the French language which is continuously eroded by the domination of Quebec economic life by English-speaking capital.

At the same time, their consciousness of national oppression has served to reinforce the combativity of the Quebec working class. This increased militancy was demonstrated in May 1972 when the Quebec economy was paralyzed by a general strike which involved, in some instances, the takeover of entire towns, seizure of the media, and experiments in various forms of workers self-management.

While the burning necessity for the Quebec labor movement is a party of their own, independent of capital, the Quebec labor movement continues to orient to the capitalist Party Quebecois. The Quebec NDP has been effectively bypassed. Committed to maintenance of the unity of the federal state, the NDP has faint hope of becoming a force in Quebec politics.

The NDP convention must pledge its support of Quebec's democratic right to self-determination up to and including the right to national independence. The NDP must solidarize with the struggles of Quebec workers, in particular against the Bourassa government's current campaign of repression. That campaign, spearheaded by the imprisonment of three of Quebec's leading trade unionists, includes the notorious Bill 89 which would empower the government to outlaw strikes in all sectors of the economy deemed to involve "essential services."

All conditions on the release of Pepin, Charbonneau and Laberge — conditions designed to humiliate, and further intimidate the trade union movement — must be lifted. A cross-country campaign in solidarity with the Quebec labor movement in its struggles against the government and corporation-inspired repression can aid in rolling back anti-labor legislation across Canada.

labor Challenge #82
p6

Workers' solidarity to defeat antilabor laws

Coupled with the maintenance of high unemployment as a measure to hold down wage rates the use of anti-labor legislation directed against the right to strike and inhibiting union organization has become an increasing problem for the labor movement.

Workers in British Columbia are confronted by compulsory arbitration through Bill 33, which the NDP government has yet to withdraw. On May 1, 1,200 Edmonton construction workers demonstrated against Bill 35, Alberta's new trade union legislation, which allows compulsory arbitration to be applied in strikes interrupting what the government deems "essential services." The same day 30,000 Quebec trade unionists made opposition to Bill 89, which would deny civil servants the right to strike, a central theme of their May Day demonstration. On June 14 Ontario hospital workers demonstrated against compulsory arbitration legislation applying to hospital employees.

Delegates to the 1973 federal NDP convention must put the party firmly on record in opposition to legislated curbs on the right to strike for any group of workers. Where the NDP is in office, as in British Columbia, anti-labor legislation must be wiped off the books. The NDP must mobilize its full membership in mass actions by the labor movement against strikebreaking legislation.

In the past the NDP's parliamentary caucus has betrayed the cause of labor by supporting parliamentary strikebreaking legislation against the British Columbia dockworkers. With railway workers presently in negotiations, the NDP must firmly oppose the use of parliament by the big business parties to undermine the right to strike.

Break from cold war ideology!

by DENNIS MARLON

The radicalization of the past decade has challenged many of the fundamental "cold war" myths, on which Canadian foreign policy rested. Yet the NDP leadership continues to bolster illusions as to the real nature of Ottawa's international role.

The Vietnam war opened the eyes of millions of people around the world. They could see that what had been called the "free world" was carrying on a brutal genocidal assault against an heroic people, fighting for control of their country.

Vietnam also exposed Canadian foreign policy. Canada was shown to be a partner in U.S. genocide — the supplier of arms, the apologist, the spy for the Pentagon and State Department. Thousands of Canadians joined demonstrations demanding immediate U.S. withdrawal and an end to Canada's complicity in the war.

Pressure from the antiwar movement and from the NDP ranks forced the party leadership to change its position on Vietnam. In 1965, party leaders were naming China as the aggressor. By 1970, the party was condemning U.S. aggression and identifying with the actions of the antiwar movement. But the party leadership never provided more than pious words to build the campaign against the war.

While criticizing the United States, the NDP did not change its concept of the peaceful intentions of the Canadian government. Consistent with its position in favor of numerous United Nations "peacekeeping" missions in the past, the NDP leadership supported and campaigned for Canadian intervention in Vietnam through the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS) early this year, in violation of the Vietnamese right of self-determination.

During the period following the Vietnam ceasefire, Canadian forces on the ICCS did everything they could to bolster the power of the Thieu regime, and to point the finger at the liberation forces as aggressors for defending themselves against Thieu's military offensive in South Vietnam. The NDP parliamentary caucus raised no criticisms of the Canadian force.

When the Canadian government announced that it was, for its own tactical reasons, pulling out of the ICCS, NDP foreign affairs critic Andrew Brewin used the occasion to defend Canada's role: "Peacekeeping and the use of observer teams have not been discredited by what has happened . . . (They) remain, as they have in the past and will in the future, an important instrument in the making of peace."

NDP policy, backing up the maneuvers of world imperialism, flows from the party leadership's identification with the Canadian state. They see themselves as future administrators of Canadian capitalism, and thus defend its interests internationally. Thus, the NDP leaders are willing to violate the most elementary principles of support to self-determination struggles.

A socialist foreign policy would put the NDP fully behind movements for social change and liberation everywhere in the world. Placing no faith in the army of the Canadian ruling class, it would oppose the sending of Canadian troops anywhere. Rather, it would seek to aid and defend international revolutionary movements. This would not stop at parliamentary speeches — it would be carried into the streets through mobilizing the base of the party.

A socialist alternative to the NDP leadership's foreign policy includes:

VIETNAM

The federal convention should commit the NDP to exposing the continuing U.S. aggression against the people of Indochina. The NDP should seek to build demonstrations and other protest actions against U.S. bombing in Cambodia, demanding that the U.S. get all its forces and materiel out of Southeast Asia now, and that the Canadian government end all aspects of its complicity in the war.

MIDDLE EAST

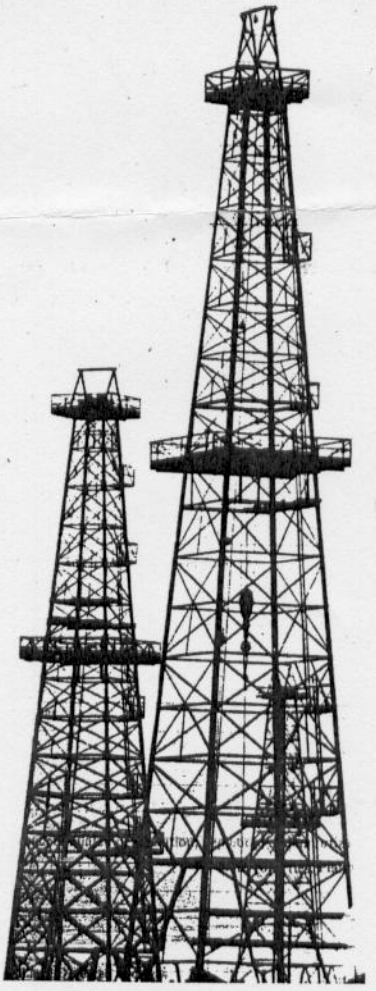
The convention should dissociate the NDP from federal leader David Lewis's support of Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Arab peoples. During a recent visit to Israel, Lewis went so far as to support Israel's refusal to give up the territory it seized during the 1967 six-day war. The NDP must support the Palestinians' struggle for the lands stolen from them by Israel, and call for the dismantling of the Zionist state. It must also call for the creation of a democratic secular Palestine.

MILITARY ALLIANCES

When the NORAD agreement was renewed by the Canadian govern-

→p.9 see page 8

How to solve energy crisis



by GEORGE ADDISON

A major debate is shaping up, centering on energy and resource policy in Canada. Big forces — and big stakes — are involved in this debate.

On the one side are the huge oil and gas corporations, whose tentacles reach around the world. At stake are the military and industrial needs of the imperialist powers.

On the other side are the rights of the native peoples, whose lands are being stolen and despoiled by the "developers," the question of conservation of resources and the ecology, the rights of working people, forced to pay for a colossal "corporate ripoff."

The Canadian government has come out squarely as defender of the corporate interests. This is clearly shown in the government report entitled "An Energy Policy for Canada, Phase I," released by Energy minister Donald Macdonald June 28.

The report notes that Canada has plenty of oil and gas for its own needs in the forseeable future, but not enough to play a "major role" in terms of U.S. needs. It predicts that oil and gas prices will rise sharply — natural gas prices will double by the end of the decade, and Ontario customers can expect immediate rises of 8 to 20 percent. Among its proposals are building the Mackenzie pipeline and reviewing the tax and royalty policy which makes the resource sector a haven for "corporate welfare bums." The report suggests as a possible option the creation of "a national petroleum company," a sort of Crown corporation to intervene in the exploration and development of oil. The advantages and disadvantages for capitalism of such a company are discussed in the report, but it makes no recommendation.

The purpose of the government's report is clear. It is designed to back up big business price hikes, and in particular, justify their going ahead with the Mackenzie pipeline, in defiance of native rights and ecological problems.

Canada has an energy policy — in support of the corporations. And increasingly, nationalist arguments are being invoked and encouraged by the government in an effort to throw confusion on the question. The concern expressed in the energy report over foreign ownership for them flows from their desire to protect the competitive position of Canadian industry.

There are two "energy crises" today, one real and one contrived. The first, affecting all workers, is the highprices and irresponsible waste by the corporations and capitalist governments.

But the more-publicized "energy crisis" graphically shown by empty gas pumps and darkened buildings south of the border, is largely artificially-created. In the U.S., it has been revealed that oil refineries are operating at more than 10 percent below capacity. The big corporations have laid off workers, not expanded their facilities, then used the resulting "crisis" to seep away objections and restrictions posed by environmentalists, to raise prices, and to wipe out smaller competitors. If there is a shortage beyond that, no one but the corporations knows for sure — and they refuse to open their books, even to U.S. federal Trade Commission subpoenas.

The Canadian government and the corporations are likewise out to take advantage of this "crisis." Export of oil and gas to the U.S. has skyrocketed; Canadian prices are consistently going up. Imperial Oil the largest oil firm in Canada (a U.S. subsidiary) raised its price of oil 25 cents a barrel May 1, the third increase since November. In the past six months, Imperial's prices have gone up by almost 20 percent. Meanwhile, it made a profit of $157 million last year, an increase of 11 percent over 1972!

Over the past 10 years, Imperial Oil has made more than $1,000-million in profits after taxes, with an additional $170-million interest-free loan from the government in the form of deferred taxes. Over the same period, the corporation paid $40 million in royalties to the government — 4 percent of what they pocketed!

Given this huge corporate ripoff, not at all limited to Imperial Oil, action is called for. Certainly public ownership of the resource industries

→p. 9 see page 8

labor Challenge #82
P. 9

... Get out of NATO, NORAD

continued from page 7

ment this spring, the NDP's voice was barely heard in parliament, much less in the streets of Canada. The NDP should be campaigning for Canadian withdrawal from NORAD and NATO.

They are nuclear-armed forces, directed both against the workers states and also against revolutionary developments within the member states. NATO arms are used by Portugal to crush Afrian liberation struggles, and by the Greek colonels to maintain their dictatorship. NATO forces in Europe serve as potential repressive forces against the workers' movement.

Canada should not join the Organization of American States. Little was heard from the NDP when Canada accepted observer status on the body in February, 1972, although the party is committed by convention vote to oppose it. The OAS remains an aggressive force, dominated by U.S. imperialism and its Latin American puppets aimed against liberation struggles and in particular against Cuba.

FOREIGN AID

The NDP must reject the present foreign aid programs of the Canadian government, which are used to bolster repressive regimes and provide markets for Canadian business abroad. The NDP should call for aid to those countries that are fighting imperialism and building socialism. In particular, Canada should extend its trade and aid with Cuba and North Vietnam, which are blockaded by U.S. imperialism. Aid should also be given to anti-imperialist movements fighting for freedom in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

...Take over oil, gas

continued from page 6

is a logical and necessary measure.

This will be a major issue at the federal NDP convention. At present, a special energy study group, headed jointly by NDP MPs Max Saltsman and T.C. Douglas, and including six other members of the federal parliamentary caucus, is touring the country, meeting a series of provincial premiers, cabinet ministers and energy experts. It plans to bring a worked-out policy to the convention.

But judging from the record, a call for large-scale nationalization will not be coming from the NDP leadership. Writing in the May 23 Commonwealth, organ of the Saskatchewan NDP, T.C. Douglas laid out the NDP's energy program: "The NDP advocates three steps we should take. First, we should curtail our supplies of oil against our future needs. Second, we should place an export tax on oil going to the U.S., so that some of the profits arising from the oil shortage in the U.S. will revert to the people of Canada . . . Third, we should set the price of oil at a figure that will give the companies a fair return on their investment and give Canadians the advantages of cheaper oil and gasoline."

Douglas starts off from the same conceptual framework as the government. They are nationalist arguments, challenging in no way the power of the corporations — identifying the interests of Canadian workers with Canadian capitalism, even at the expense of American workers. Of Douglas's three proposals, the first was implemented by the government June 15; the second and third are "options" considered favorably by the energy report.

Another proposal, somewhat more far-reaching, is that of some degree of public ownership of resource development. On June 30, Max Saltsman called both for a national energy marketing board to set prices and a Crown corporation to conduct all future exploration and development. The latter proposal has also been advanced by former Liberal cabinet minister Walter Gordon and the Toronto Star.

But the arguments from all these sources is not for nationalization of either of existing resource corporations, nor the lucrative refining and processing industries. Their proposals are fixed within the context of using publicly-owned corporations and public funds to help make Canadian capitalism more efficient and competitive in the international market. The effect would be another "corporate ripoff" — government funding of the more expensive and risky aspects of the industry.

The real solution lies in anticapitalist action and demands, which must be taken up by the NDP on both federal and provincial planes.

The demand for public ownership of the resource industry — from exploration to refining to distribution — can be a focus for building a mass movement in Canada. Campaigns against resource projects like the Mackenzie pipeline would unite in action the native movement, ecology activists and the labor movement. The NDP should be the political force that ties these forces together around a program of public ownership, with recognition of aboriginal land rights and workers control of energy resource industries as central aspects of its platform.

Such a campaign would provide a lever to introduce the concept of public ownership in a wider sphere, bringing forward the concept of a planned economy, which alone can carry out rational resource development for human betterment — not for profit.

labor Challenge #82 July 1973

Manitoba NDP gains clear majority

WINNIPEG — The New Democratic Party beat back a combined Tory-Liberal assault in the June 28 provincial election to re-elect the NDP government with a clear majority of seats in the legislature, and a strengthened electoral base.

In the largest voter turnout in Manitoba history, 77.9 percent of the electorate, the NDP support increased in every one of the 57 constituencies over its vote in 1969, when it was first elected to office.

The NDP's share of the popular vote rose to 43 percent from 39 percent in 1969, picking up four new seats and losing two for a total of 31 seats. The Conservatives and Liberals each picked up one more seat for totals of 21 and five respectively; the Tory vote increased by one percent to 37 percent of the total, while the Liberals dropped to 19 percent from 24 percent in 1969. Liberal leader Israel Asper came within two votes of defeat by his NDP opponent, and may yet lose on the official recount.

While not constituting the sweep many NDPers were anticipating, the election results marked the consolidation of the NDP's working class base. The party took all five seats in northern Manitoba. It increased its urban vote and took one more seat in the rural area.

The election campaign had witnessed a sharp polarization between the traditional big business parties and the NDP. But the stop-the-NDP movement was sharply rebuffed by the voters.

Of the nine ridings where Conservatives and Liberals had ganged up behind a single candidate of either party against the NDP, the New Democrats took seven, one less than in 1969. Tourism minister Laurent Desjardins, elected as a Liberal in 1969, was defeated by 18 votes in a straight two-way contest with the Winnipeg deputy mayor, a Liberal.

Of the 18 Tory or Liberal candidates endorsed by the "Group for Good Government," a red-baiting "anti-socialist" organization that campaigned vehemently against the NDP, only seven were elected; five of them were sitting Conservative members of the legislature. The only GGG-endorsed candidate to unseat an NDP MLA — a Tory who defeated Attorney-General Al Mackling in St. James — had publicly denounced the GGG. The other victorious candidate endorsed by the GGG was a Liberal who defeated a Tory MLA.

No women were elected; with the defeat of the only woman in the last legislature, Tory Inez Trueman (her victorious Liberal opponent was endorsed by the Manitoba Action Group on the Status of Women), the Manitoba house is once again an all-male preserve. The NDP ran only two women candidates.

The vote for the three candidates of the Communist party — each running against leading NDP MLAs — was very low. CP leader William Ross, for example, received 65 votes against Finance minister Saul Cherniack's 4,506.

Squeezed in the polarization between the NDP and the Tories and Liberals, the lone Social Credit member was defeated, as were the two "independent" members in the last house, both of them defectors from the NDP.

The main significance of the election results is that the NDP was able to hold the base it had won in 1969 — and to defeat the offensive of the big business parties. With a clear majority in the legislature, Premier Edward Schreyer will find it more difficult in future to invoke the strength of the opposition parties as an excuse for his own inaction on the pressing questions of the day.

The NDP campaign was built solely around the selling of the premier's personality, presenting Schreyer as a veritable miracle-man. As such it did nothing to build the confidence of the working class base of the NDP in its own power. It was, as one pro-NDP commentator wrote in the Toronto Star, "a superficial, one-dimensional campaign."

Addressing a victory rally at the Winnipeg Union Center as the results poured in on election night, Schreyer made one of the better statements of his campaign: "We are taking on those who really control the wealth and the destiny of our nation. But if we are really determined, we can beat money any day of the week."

The task of developing the program that can take the working class forward toward the defeat of those "who control the wealth" falls to the rank and file members and supporters of the NDP, and especially the Socialist wing of the party.

EDWARD SCHREYER and NDP supporters greet news that party won a clear majority.

Bigot Borowski loses

An especially positive aspect of the Manitoba election was the decisive defeat of Joseph Borowski, the former minister in the Schreyer government who ran this time as an "independent" on an anti-abortion, anti-pornography platform.

Borowski had originally stated in May that he would not run again. In two years, he said, he had not received as many letters opposing "abortion and pornography" as a radio station hotline host drew in two weeks promoting a meat boycott. "The support I thought I had wasn't so overwhelming after all."

Then he changed his mind and ran in Winnipeg's Point Douglas constituency against the NDP member, Rev. Donald Malinowski. Borowski polled only 1,123 votes against the NDP's 3,487.

Seems like Joe's earlier hunch was correct. Anti-women, religious bigots like Borowski don't go over well with the majority of working people today. His defeat is a convincing answer to the line of the big business-controlled media and Premier Schreyer, who claimed that Borowski's reactionary demagogy was in tune with popular thinking — in order to argue that the people of Manitoba were hostile to radical social change.

Commenting on the election results, Borowski praised Schreyer ("The premier is a wonderful guy — a good premier, a good husband and a good father") and attributed the defeat of Attorney-General Mackling to the latter's decision to ban the film Last Tango in Paris. "Mr. Mackling was prosecuting filth and he was prosecuted by the people."

labor Challenge #82 July 1973

Defend Dr. Morgentaler!

Women plan abortion tribunal

by BETH ROBERTSON

The June issue of Spokeswoman, the cross-Canada newspaper of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, calls on all supporters of women's right to abortion to publicize and build the Tribunal on Abortion and Contraception, to be held Nov. 3 in Ottawa.

"Initiated by the second cross-Canada conference of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws (held March 16-18), and by the Front Commun pour l'Abrogation des Lois sur l'Avortement, the Tribunal will be a high-point for the abortion rights movement. Through the testimony of women from all backgrounds and experiences, and through the testimony of legal and medical experts, we will draw together the evidence necessary to indict those responsible for denying women control over their reproductive lives. The Tribunal will culminate in a demonstration to Parliament Hill to present our indictments and our demands to those responsible for this great injustice against women."

A tribunal is an ancient form of court, dating from the time of the Romans, convened in defense of the common people against arbitrary action by officials. The Tribunal on Abortion will revive this tradition with the women of Canada indicting the government for its crimes against women in maintaining the abortion laws.

The editorial in this issue of Spokeswoman describes the political context in which preparations for the Tribunal are taking place. It details the latest attacks by the government — Justice Minister Otto Lang's statement that the abortion laws should be interpreted much more strictly, and Prime Minister Trudeau's official meeting with a delegation from "Alliance for Life" to receive a petition from them. It mentions the stepped-up campaign of "Right to Life" groups across the country, including "large, after-church demonstrations" and ads placed in daily papers.

One of the most glaring examples of the government's reactionary and criminal policy is the victimization of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Montreal physician who faces possible life imprisonment because he chose to defy the criminal code in order to give women safe, medical abortions on request. The centerspread of **Spokeswoman** features a statement by Dr. Morgentaler, made at a March 16 public rally in Toronto, in which he declared in part, "I claim that my moral obligation and duty to my patients to save their lives and health transcends the dead letter of a law based on religious superstition and false premises . . . I do not believe that doing medically safe abortions is a criminal act. On the contrary, I feel very strongly that denying women safe abortions and exposing them to death and injury is criminal." Spokeswoman reports some of the public actions being carried across the country in defense of Dr. Morgentaler, and reprints the petition being circulated which calls for the charges against him to be dropped.

The campaign for the right to abortion has been an important part of the Canadian feminist movement since the Abortion Caravan in 1970, which brought women from across Canada to Ottawa. Increasingly around the world, the abortion struggle has emerged as a focus for the international struggle for women's rights.

As Spokeswoman points out, it is particularly important at this time, when the sides in the repeal fight are being defined more sharply, not only in Canada but around the world — that everyone who supports repeal of the abortion laws unite to make the Tribunal the largest, most significant action possible in opposition to the government's anti-abortion law.

Spokeswoman's editors conclude, "We were all inspired by the victory of women in the United States, who last January won abortion as their human right. We have seen the determined struggles of women around the world to gain control over their reproductive lives and have applauded the tens of thousands of women who have marched for that right in Belgium, and New Zealand. We must continue to carry out our fight in Canada in

→p.2

labor Challenge p.2 #82

'MORGENTALER NOT GUILTY' say Montreal women protesting charges laid against doctor for performing abortions.

that same spirit and march forward like them . . . in building our own movement, toward our own victory."

To get involved in the Tribunal and activities leading up to it, contact the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws. Subscriptions to Spokeswoman are 7 ossues for $1. Send inquiries to P.O. Box 5673, Station A, Toronto, Ontario.

labor Challenge #82

300 Québécois defy abortion ban

On June 24, Quebec's national holiday, the front-page headline of Quebec-Presse, the popular trade union weekly, announced that 296 Quebecois had declared their "complicity" in procuring or undergoing an illegal abortion.

"The supporters of abortion on demand are passing from clandestinity to open struggle," wrote Micheline Lachance, introducing a special four-page supplement containing articles on the struggle for repeal of the abortion laws and the first release of signatures on a petition of "accomplices" being circulated by the Front Commun pour l'Abrogation des Lois sur l'Avortement (Common Front for Repeal of Abortion Laws). Those supporting repeal include leading personalities from all walks of Quebec life, including doctors (Lise Fortier, Henry Morgentaler, Maurice Jobin and Jacques Ferron), entertainers (Pauline Julien, Genevieve Bujold) and TV hostesses (Lise Payette).

"We the undersigned declare that we have helped someone in some way (references, advice, information, etc.) to obtain an illegal abortion and/ or have undergone an illegal abortion. We thereby incriminate ourselves in solidarity," the petition reads.

"If so many Quebecois are struggling for repeal of the abortion laws," states Quebec-Presse, "it is because the situation is urgent; in 1972, according to Statistics Canada, there were 1,386 therapeutic abortions in Quebec. Add to this the some 250 illegal abortions practiced each week by doctors as well as an unknown number of pregnancy terminations practiced by backstreet butchers."

Of 210 accredited hospitals in Quebec, only 23 have created abortion committees as provided by the law, and only 12 of these are French-language hospitals.

A study of Quebecoises who have had an abortion, conducted by the Family Planning Center in 1972, found that 95 percent were unable to obtain a termination of pregnancy in a hospital. They paid an average of $300 each for their abortions.

Quebec-Presse lists a wide range of Quebec organizations which have called for repeal of the abortion laws. These include the Montreal Labor Council (CLC), the Professional Union of Quebec Teachers, the Union of Dieticians, the Federation of Engineers and Technicians (CSN), and many women's organizations.

A recent poll of psychologists, social workers and welfare councillors in Quebec found overwhelming support for repeal, with 80 percent saying that the final decision on abortion should be left to the woman alone.

The association of French-language doctors of Canada recently sent a questionnaire on abortion to its 8,649 members. Of those who responded, 26 percent favored abortion on demand.

The Front Commun (FCALA) is now circulating a petition asking doctors to declare their "complicity" in abortion. Already some 20 doctors have signed, their names to be published shortly.

Each issue of Quebec-Presse publishes the petition of the Front Commun in support of abortion law repeal. As of March, 12,000 Quebecois had signed it.

A recent photo-feature told the newspaper's 100,000 subscribers about Dr. Henry Morgentaler's abortion clinic in Montreal and his struggle against frameup by the government for violating the anti-abortion laws.

labor Challenge #82

Sisterhood is powerful

WONAAC LEADER SPEAKS IN TORONTO — "The fact is that the women's liberation movement has spread all over the world. Women on a mass scale are realizing that they are discriminated against by virtue of their sex. Women have begun to organize collectively to overcome that oppression, and the focal issue of action right now is the right to abortion."

Speaking to more than 100 men and women in Toronto, on the last stop of an international tour that included nine European countries, Susan Lamont, national coordinator of the U.S. Women's National Abortion Action Coaltion (WONAAC) described the growing influence of feminist ideas around the world and in particular the importance of the struggle for abortion rights. Lamont noted that "the struggle for abortion has become the starting point in country after country for the women's liberation movement."

In almost every country Lamont visited, active campaigns were underway to change the existing laws that prevent a woman's right to abortion. In France where each year 800,000 illegal abortions are performed, thousands have demonstrated to defend victims prosecuted under the French law. CHOISIR (Choice) a woman's group demanding complete access to abortion for all women has led the battle against the French courts and government.

In Belgium, women have initiated a defense campaign for Dr. Willy Peers, arrested for having allegedly performed illegal abortions. Demonstrations have been organized in defense of Dr. Peers and a petition is being circulated demanding the charges against him be dropped.

Lamont described the struggles of women in Italy and Ireland where conditions for women are much worse. Abortion and contraception are banned, and only 19% of women work outside the home, meaning most are relegated to unpaid domestic work in the home. In both countries the powerful Catholic Church stands in the way of women's rights. In spite of these conditions, women are beginning to unite and build a movement in both countries to challenge their oppression.

SUSAN LAMONT. Leader in U.S. fight for right to abortion speaks to Toronto meeting.

Responding to the question of why feminists around the world have so much to say about abortion, Lamont described the inhuman suffering women have undergone as a result of these reactionary laws. "Imagine the liberating effect on millions of women when the fear of pregnancy is removed." Although changing the abortion laws will not in itself liberate women, Lamont noted "a victory for women in this area will be an important milestone for all women."

In concluding, Lamont talked about the victory of the right to abortion in the U.S. "The U.S. victory is a weapon that can strengthen the whole international struggle, and WONAAC pledges its support do do all it can to help those fighting for the right to abortion in Canada and around the world."

CONFERENCE ON WOMEN AND POLITICS — More than 200 women from across Canada attended a conference convened by Toronto Women for Political Action June 16-17. The purpose of the conference was to discuss ways in which women could become involved in politics.

Attending the conference were women from the Liberal Party, the Conservative Party, and many NDP women, including B.C. MLA Rosemary Brown who addressed a public meeting on the Friday night. Women's groups from across the country sent representatives — among them were Status of Women chapters, Voice of Women, Women's Centers, and the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws.

Conference organizers received a grant of $25,000 from the federal government, on condition that the conference be only open to delegates. This stipulation excluded many women who would otherwise have attended — even many Toronto WPA supporters.

But despite the large amount of money spent to build the conference, and the broad participation, the conference itself accomplished little. No concrete actions or strategy emerged. Instead of discussing the needs of women — such problems as abortion, day care, and equal pay — and seeking ways to fight for these and other issues, much of the time of the conference was spent in discussing the pros and cons of the recently established federal Status of Women Council.

The efforts of some women at the conference to set up a radical caucus to deal with the inability of this conference to act on behalf of women was unsuccessful. However, a caucus of NDP women met on Sunday morning for a very useful discussion of issues facing women at the coming federal NDP convention.

— LINDA BLACKWOOD

labor Challenge #82 July 1973

Key to women's rights: independent action

by LIS ANGUS

In recent years delegates to conventions of the New Democratic Party, both on the federal level and in the provincial sections, have endorsed a far-reaching program of demands for women's rights. The lively debates and the desire of party members to commit the NDP to support of the feminist movement have reflected the impact of this movement on the party.

But everywhere the party as a whole, and particularly the leadership, has failed to press for adoption of this women's rights program. And where the NDP is in office, in three western provinces, its record in implementing such demands has been abysmal. The NDP has failed badly in responding to the challenge of the movement for the emancipation of women.

This sharp contrast between words and deeds is the central contradiction facing delegates to the upcoming federal convention, in the debate on women's rights. Significantly, many of the resolutions submitted to the convention are not simply proposals that the party's existing program on women's rights be reaffirmed and developed, but resolutions projecting campaigns and concrete struggles, and calling on the party to commit itself to action in support of these demands.

The B.C. Standing Committee on Women's Rights, a sub-body of the B.C. NDP, has issued a call for the formation of a women's caucus at the convention. The caucus will organize women delegates to get resolutions dealing with women's rights onto the convention agenda, and to win the delegates to their support.

The demands that must comprise a comprehensive program of women's rights are to be found in resolutions submitted by constituency associations, and in the federal NDP program and the adopted programs of various provincial sections.

Women are used as a pool of cheap labor by the employers, and our super-exploitation serves to hold down wages of the entire working class. The NDP must campaign for equal pay for equal work and a decent minimum wage comparable with trade union rates of pay, and equal opportunity for women in the work force. For maternity leave including full pay and benefits up to three months, and leave of absence without pay for up to six months.

Women's lack of control over our own reproductive system is used to deny us basic human rights, to perpetuate the myth of women's inferiority ("biology is destiny"). The NDP must campaign to take abortion out of the federal criminal code, to make abortion the right of all women. It must call for free community-controlled clinics for pre- and post-natal care, contraceptive care and abortions.

Women are oppressed and discriminated against at all levels of this sexist society. The NDP must expose and fight the discrimination against women in the educational system; the schools must tell the truth about women's role in society, eliminate discrimination against women in school texts, and end streaming in the schools that confines women to specified occupations such as housewife and mother.

Women must be freed from our reliance on men and our exclusive role as wife and mother. For free community-controlled child-care centers, open on a 24-hour basis.

The New Democratic Party itself must make strenuous efforts to open up its structures to women — through adopting special measures to aid the advancement of women in the party, including nomination of many more women candidates. Trade unions must be urged strongly to do more to organize women workers.

Above all, the party must commit itself to actively supporting all struggles of women against our oppression as a sex.

Such demands must be reaffirmed at this convention. Adequate time must be allocated at the convention for discussion of a women's rights program.

Yet there is a wide gap between the program to which the NDP is committed on paper, and the extent to which the party leadership has moved to act on this program. While NDP member of parliament Grace MacInnis has repeatedly put forward private member's bills for abortion law repeal, the NDP parliamentary caucus has never fought to make this question a priority for debate in parliament. The NDP leadership, federal and provincial, has abdicated any responsibility to mobilize extraparliamentary support for campaigns of the women's movement, such as the campaign for abortion law repeal.

As for the situation where the NDP is in office, the June issue of Priorities, the newsletter of the B.C. Standing Committee on Women's Rights, speaks eloquently of the inaction of the NDP government in that province. In a special supplement entitled "Taking Stock," Priorities show that in almost a year since it was elected not one department in the Barrett government has legislated any of the extensive body of women's rights policy in the B.C. NDP program. "One cannot escape the suspicion," Priorities concludes in an editorial understatement, "that 'women's rights' seems synonymous with 'low priority'."

The situation is little better in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. For example, when the Blakeney government in Regina introduced its first full legislative program in

→p. 2

p. 2

February 1972, it contained not one mention of women — despite a wide-ranging program on women's rights passed at previous party conventions.

Clearly, women in the NDP must organize to press the party to act on its women's rights program, to become a fighting party for women's rights. Women cannot rely on government bodies or structural changes to win their demands — not even when the NDP is the government.

The experience of the feminist movement, in Canada and internationally, has shown that women can rely only on their own strength — the power of their independent mobilization and leadership. Women in the NDP must organize independently of the party bureaucracy, to link up with the demands and campaigns of the entire women's movement.

Rank-and-file groupings like the B.C. Standing Committee on Women's Rights — composed of leading activists and geared to involving women from constituency associations from all over the province — can be a very useful form for organizing women's struggles inside the NDP, encouraging women's participation in the party and pressuring the party to respond to the feminist movement.

An important resolution submitted to the federal convention calls on the NDP to endorse and build the cross-country Tribunal on Abortion to be held in Ottawa in November. Committing the NDP to building this important action will be a big step to ensuring that the Tribunal have maximum impact on the federal government.

The resolution also calls for support to the defense campaign of Dr. Henry Morgentaler of Montreal, an NDP member, who currently faces charges leading to life imprisonment under the federal abortion law.

Another resolution calls for a conference of NDP women. Such a conference could be an important opportunity for women members of the party to plan action to get the party to implement the above program.

NEW ABORTION REPEAL ORGANIZATION FOUNDED

A new organization, the Canadian Association for Repeal of the Abortion Law (CARAL), held its founding meeting June 20 at the Toronto Men's Press Club. Writer Eleanor Pelrine, elected executive secretary for CARAL, stated that its aims were "to repeal all sections of the criminal code dealing with abortion, and the provision of adequate abortion services across the country." The organization includes both men and women.

Other members of the steering committee elected at the meeting included Dr. Henry Morgentaler, Dr. Wendell Waters and lawyer Stan Gershman. Two places were left for representatives of the Planned Parenthood Association and the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws (CWC), should they wish to join CARAL.

CWC representatives, who attended the meeting as observers, made clear that the CWC was not prepared to become a member of CARAL at this time. Some confusion had arisen when the names of two CWC coordinators, Joan Campana and Lorna Grant, appeared on a letter calling for the formation of CARAL. Campana told Labor Challenge that the use of the names was an error, and was done without their knowledge. "Although I welcome any attempt to bring new forces into the repeal movement, I feel that the perspective adopted by the CWC at its February conference is still correct: the building of a women's coalition for mass actions to win our right to abortion," said Campana. "The CWC has carried many important actions to unite supporters of repeal in the fight against the government. I hope we can work together with CARAL on such actions in the future — particularly the Nov. 3 Tribunal on Abortion and Contraception in Ottawa."

In Brief

labor Challenge

#82 July 1973

FRANCO-ONTARIEN LEADER ADDRESSES OTTAWA VANGUARD FORUM

Francois Beaulne, vice-president of l'Association des Canadienne-Francaise de l'Ontario and a former federal NDP candidate was guest speaker at the Ottawa Vanguard Forum June 22.

Beaulne described the struggle of Franco-Ontariens since the turn of the century. Since the early sixties, he said, the rise of the nationalist movement in Quebec has stimulated young Franco-Ontariens in particular to fight in defense of their language. They have spearheaded the struggle for French-language schools, which was behind the three-week student strike in Cornwall this spring, and the current fight to defend two fired teachers in the school.

Beaulne pointed out the significance of the June 12 demonstration in Cornwall by a Common Front of Franco-Ontarien organizations: "Before, Franco-Ontarien leaders tried to arrange things behind the curtains, but now a mass movement is developing." It was the first time that such a militant mass action had been held.

Two of Ottawa's daily newspapers carried articles on the Forum. The Ottawa Citizen carried on article on page 2, headlined "Franco-Ontariens fight back." Le Droit, the city's only French-language daily, reported in its article on the participation of the Young Socialists in a recent demonstration for Franco-Ontarien rights.

Vanguard Forums, sponsored by the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialists and the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere are held weekly in a number of cities across the country.

BLACK ACTIVISTS REFUSED APPEAL

In a June 25 decision, the Supreme Court of Canada refused to hear an appeal from Black activists Rosie Douglas, Anne Cools and Brenda Dash, convicted on charges arising from the 1969 occupation of the Sir George Williams University computer center. The occupation protested racism at the university.

The court decision was made despite a public admission of prejudice against the defendants by one of the jurors who convicted the trio. Black organizations in Montreal and Toronto immediately protested the Supreme Court decision.

The three are expected to turn themselves over to authorities to begin sentences of two years in the case of Douglas, six months for Cools and six months or a $2,000 fine for Dash. Douglas has announced that he will press for immediate execution of a deportation order already issued against him by the government, rather than serve his prison sentence.

Lift the ban on French Trotskyists!

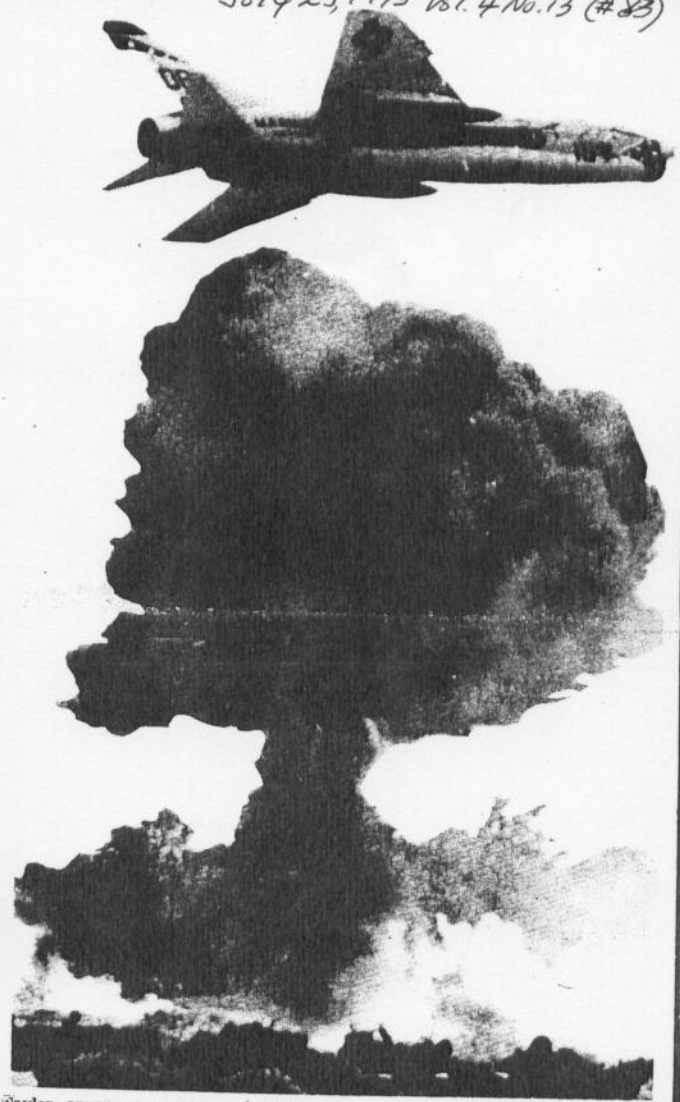
page 5

labor Challenge

July 23, 1973 Vol. 4 No. 13 (#83)

New revelations

Canada's hand in Vietnam genocide



TRUDEAU AND NIXON in Ottawa celebrate the long partnership of Canadian and U.S. governments in genocidal Indochina war. Latest Pentagon Papers revelations disclose details of Canada's complicity.

by GEORGE ADDISON

Material from hitherto-unpublished parts of the Pentagon Papers provides new evidence of the depths of Canada's complicity in the Indochina war. According to the papers, former Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson approved the bombing of North Vietnam months before U.S. president Lyndon Johnson escalated the war. Other revelations show how Canada spied for the U.S., and on a number of occasions, helped provide a rationale for escalations of the war.

The revelations were unearthed by S.J. Noumoff, a professor at McGill University, who had access to the secret, diplomatic sections of the Pentagon papers while helping in the defense for Daniel Ellsberg charged with releasing the papers. Following the dismissal of the charges against Ellsberg in May, the secret parts of the papers were made publicly available in the Los Angeles courthouse.

While the entire text of the papers have not been published, a series of articles based on the papers by Noumoff and Toronto Globe and Mail correspondent Charles Taylor appeared in the Globe July 6-10.

The most sensational part of the Canadian revelations describes how Pearson gave his approval to the bombing of North Vietnam in May, 1964. Pearson also agreed to U.S. President Johnson's request to use J. Blair Seaborn, Canada's representative on the International Control Commission, to convey messages for the U.S. to Hanoi. The messages, cleared and approved by Ottawa, were threats to North Vietnam, part of Johnson's "carrot and stick" diplomacy in escalating the war.

A cable from the U.S. State Department to Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. ambassador to Saigon, dated May 30, 1964, described the Pearson-Johnson meeting two days before: "President told Pearson that he wishes Hanoi to know, that while he is a man of peace, he does not intend to permit the North Vietnamese to take over Southeast Asia. He needs a confidential and responsible interlocutor to carry the message of U.S. attitudes to Hanoi. In outlining the U.S. position there was some discussion of 'carrots and sticks.'

"Pearson, after expressing willingness to lend Canadian good offices to this endeavor, indicated some concern about this (sic) nature of the 'sticks.' He stipulated that he would have great reservations about the use of nuclear weapons, but indicated that the punitive striking of discriminate targets by careful iron bombs would be 'a different thing.'

"He said he would personally understand our resort to such measures if the messages transmitted through the Canadian channel failed to produce any alleviation of North Vietnamese aggression and that Canada would transmit messages around this framework."

Thus, while Pearson may have balked at nuclear weapons, he clearly did give approval to the terror bombing **before** the Tonkin Gulf incident was used by the U.S. as its pretext to begin bombing of North Vietnam. This makes Canada a co-conspirator in U.S. genocide.

The publication of the main body of the Pentagon Papers in June, 1971, presented a skeleton outline of many of the current revelations, including the activities of Seaborn. But the new material

see page 3

Labor Challenge #83 July 1973

15,000 at Paris rally

Left unity defends Ligue Communiste

The June 28 government decree outlawing the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Trotskyist Fourth International, stemming from its participation in an anti-fascist demonstration has brought forth a massive outcry of protest. Opposition to the ban and to the jailing of two Ligue communiste leaders, Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset, has come from the entire spectrum of the French left and working class organizations, and internationally.

On July 4 an overflow crowd, estimated as high as 15,000, attended a mass protest meeting in Paris calling for the defense of civil liberties in France. The meeting was sponsored by the major French trade unions, the Communist party, the Socialist party, and other working class and civil liberties organizations. Such action by the CP and SP in defense of the democratic rights of any of the far-left organizations (groups to the left of the Communist party), is unprecedented.

Outside the meeting hall thousands were packed into a square to hear the speakers through loudspeakers. Handwritten banners and signs demanded an end to the dissolution of the Ligue and called for the release of Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset.

Collections cans for the defense effort were circulated as well as copies of an official supplement to Politique-Hebdo (published by former members of the CP) and Liberation (published by Jean-Paul Sartre). These papers had opened their pages to a declaration and appeal by Alain Krivine and for other articles on the campaign in defense of the rights of the Ligue.

The rally heard speakers from the League for the Rights of Man, the French Democratic Confederation of Labor and the General Confederation of Labor (France's two largest trade-union federations), the National Education Federation (a teachers union), the Socialist party and the Communist party, demand the lifting of the ban.

Despite the breadth of the meeting, writes Caroline Lund in the June 13 issue of the American socialist weekly, The Militant, there was one drawback. Members of the editorial board of Rouge, formerly the Ligue's newspaper, were denied speaking rights. Throughout the speeches there were loud chants of "Let the Ligue speak." But the organizers of the meeting refused to allow even the reading of a short message from the Ligue.

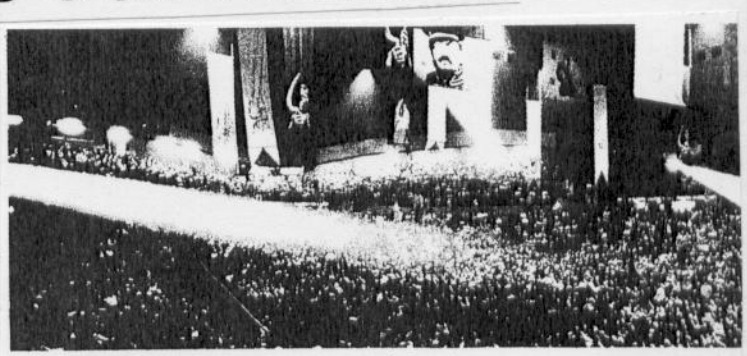
The day before the rally, ten far-left organizations addressed an appeal to the meeting organizers, saluting the meeting, but urging that former members of the Ligue be allowed to speak. Jon Rothschild quotes part of their statement in the July 16 Intercontinental Press:

"You cannot defend a revolutionary organization and at the same time try to gag it .... if this decision is in fact carried out, it can only give rise to vigorous condemnation on our part. Nevertheless, by our presence at the meeting we will reaffirm our desire to see the broadest possible response in defense of the right of free expression and organization for all."

The far-left groups all attended the meeting, and their supporters made sure that despite the disagreement on the question of the ex-Ligue's speaking rights, unity against the regime would be maintained. It was.

Immediately following the meeting, Henri Weber, editor of Rouge, formerly the newspaper of the Ligue, addressed the crowd outside through a portable sound system. Weber described the real reason for the dissolution of the Ligue Communiste: "The decisive role of activists of the Ligue, their anti-imperialist activity and support for the Indochinese revolution, their fight against conscription and the Debre law, were the reasons for the government's ban. However, the dissolution of the Ligue isn't the end of revolutionary ideas."

In addition to the student upsurge directed at the Debre conscription laws, in which the Ligue played a leading role, the past six months have seen an increase in the number of strikes, some of which have outflanked the bureaucratic trade-union leadership. The regime fears that organizations such as the Ligue will increasingly win the leadership of these radicalizing elements of the working class.



LIGUE COMMUNISTE election rally in Paris last spring.

The breadth of the defense is evidenced by the July 8 issue of Le Monde which contains an appeal signed by nearly 500 prominent people calling for the repeal of the government decree banning the Ligue Communiste, and demanding freedom for Alain Kirvine and Pierre Rousset. The appeal calls for "the formation of a national committee on the basis of this appeal in order to wage a struggle for the defeat of the repression."

Among the signers of the half-page ad are Simone de Beauvoir, Jean-Paul Sartre, Regis Debray, Marguerite Duras, Jean Seberg, Michele Rey and Constantine Costa-Gavras. Leaders of a whole range of political and trade-union organizations also signed, including the Socialist party, the French Democratic Confederation of Labor, the United Socialist party, the Revolutionary Marxist Alliance, Workers Struggle, Women's Liberation Movement, and the National Union of Secondary School Teachers.

The names of many other academic, literary and cultural figures are also included.

In addition to this appeal, protest meetings and press conferences

→p. 3

labor Challenge #83

p2

International protests against ban

International protests are growing against the banning of the Ligue Communiste by the French government. The July 7-8 issue of the Paris daily, Combat, reported that in Berlin, 5,000 students took part in a solidarity meeting for the Ligue held at the Free University. Daniel Cohn-Bendit, one of the leaders of the May 1968 upsurge in France, addressed the rally.

The July 6 Le Monde reported a meeting of 2,000 students in Frankfurt, Germany, demanding the lifting of the ban. The gathering was addressed by Cohn-Bendit and Rudi Dutschke, formerly a leader of the German student movement.

Five Labor party British MPs — Phillip Whitehead, Norman Atkinson, Michael Foot, Eric Heffer, and Frank Allaun — have sent an open letter to French President Georges Pompidou protesting the ban on the Ligue.

Other protests in Britain include the brief occupation of the French State Tourist Board on June 30 by 70 members of the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International. And a picket line protested outside the French Embassy in London on July 1.

The IMG has published a special supplement of its newspaper, Red Weekly, calling for defense of the Ligue.

A news conference in Brussels denouncing the outlawing of the Ligue was organized by the Ligue Revolutionnaire des Travailleurs (LRT — Revolutionary Workers League), Belgian section of the Fourth International. At the news conference a petition campaign was announced with an appeal to "all democratic and workers organizations" to join in a campaign to demand the lifting of the ban. Initial signers of the petition include several leaders of the Belgian Communist party.

In Wellington New Zealand, picketers at the French Embassy on July 2 carried banners that read "Ban the bomb, not French socialists," referring to the imminent French nuclear tests in the South Pacific. The Socialist Action League, the New Zealand Trotskyist organization, called for repeal of the ban on the Ligue.

A protest statement was issued in Vienna on June 29. Signers include the Austrian Trotskyist organization, Gruppe Revolutionare Marxisten (Revolutionary Marxist Group) and several other radical organizations.

Protest actions have been held in more than 15 U.S. cities. In the largest such action, 200 protesters in New York City were addressed by Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers party (SWP) candidate for mayor. A demonstration of more than 150 in San Francisco July 7 was covered by two TV stations, and a statement by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance, the U.S. sister organizations of the Ligue, was read in full by two radio stations. The news media showed considerable interest in several of the picket actions.

Despite the fact that the Communist party of France has denounced the attack on the Ligue, the American CP has refused so far to take part in actions protesting the ban. However, the Bloomington, Ind., Young Workers Liberation

NEW YORKERS picketing French Consulate July 6 to protest Pompidou's outlawing of the Ligue Communiste.

→p. 3

p. 3 From p. 1

denouncing the ban and imprisonment of Krivine and Rousset have been held in many French cities. The July 7 issue of the Paris daily Combat reported, for example, that in Lille a press conference was held featuring representatives of the Communist party, the Socialist party, the two major trade-union federations, the largest teacher union, and the Left Radical party. These organizations "vigorously denounced the arrest of the leaders of the Ligue and demanded that they be freed."

In another development, supporters and former members of the Ligue challenged the Pompidou government's repressive moves by mobilizing to openly sell Rouge. A new issue of Rouge appeared on Friday, July 6. The July 20 Militant, reports dozens of young people hawking the paper in the streets of Paris, in full view of the cops. As of July 8, according to the Militant, police had not interferred with sales of the paper.

On the judicial front a lower court ruling ordering the provisional release of Alain Krivine was appealed by the French government on July 11. The Cour d'Accusation, the higher court, has 30 days to reach a decision. In the meantime, both Krivine and Pierre Rousset remain in jail.

ertisement

libération

Liberation is a fighting paper which campaigns for an independent, socialist Quebec.

To understand the developing revolution in Quebec, you must read Liberation.

clip and mail to: Liberation, Boite 641, Succ. N, Montreal

Enclosed is $1.00 for eight issues.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ Prov._____

labor Challenge #83

p. 3 From p. 2

League, the CP's youth organization did cosponsor a local demonstration in defense of the Ligue.

Protest demonstrations have also been held in Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland and Japan.

Canadians protest

Several demonstrations have been held across Canada in defense of the democratic rights of the Ligue Communiste of France. On June 29 eighty-five persons demonstrated outside the French consulate in Toronto. Sponsoring groups were the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, Canadian section of the Fourth International; the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, a sympathizing youth organization of the Fourth International; the Revolutionary Marxist Group; and the Labor Action Committee.

The same day, a demonstration in defense of the Ligue was held in Montreal, sponsored by the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes and the Groupe Marxiste Revolutionnaire.

On July 13, 50 persons attended a Vanguard Forum in Vancouver to discuss the ban issued against the Ligue Communiste. On July 14, Bastille Day, 40 people demonstrated outside the French consulate in Vancouver. Joan Newbigging, Vancouver organizer of the LSA read a statement protesting the French government's action endorsed by eight members of the Simon Fraser University students' council, including its president and president-elect.

In Ottawa, the LSA/ LSO and the YS/ LJS picketed the French embassy's Bastille Day reception. The ambassador refused even to receive a statement from the demonstrators.

In Quebec, an "Appeal for the Defense of the Democratic Rights of the Ligue Communiste" has been endorsed by Henri Francois Gautrin, president of the Quebec NDP, Henri Gagnon of the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ), Michel Chartrand of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU), Francois Lalonde, president of the Quebec Student Front (FEQ), the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, and the Groupe Marxiste Revolutionnaire. The "Appeal" urges all organizations and individuals in Quebec who are interested in defending the democratic rights of the Ligue Communiste to attend a July 20 meeting to establish a broad defense committee.

A similar committee is being formed in English Canada.

In Brief

NDP EXCLUDES TWO SOCIALISTS

The July-August issue of the Young Socialist reports the exclusion of two Toronto supporters of the Young Socialists from membership in the New Democratic Party. Cliff Mack and Alice Klein received letters in mid-June from Gordon Vichert, Ontario NDP provincial secretary, informing them that their applications for membership in the party had been refused.

Mack's expulsion from the NDP was based on his running as a Young Socialist in last fall's Toronto civic elections. No NDP candidate was running.

Klein was denied membership on the "grounds" of her "association" with the University of Toronto Young Socialists. She was a YS candidate for U of T student council president in 1971 and vice-president in 1973. The Young Socialists is the only organization on the U of T which campaigned in last fall's federal election in support of the NDP.

In fighting their exclusion from the NDP, Mack and Klein are appealing to party members to support their right, as stpporters of the NDP, to membership in the party.

"LESSONS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION"

The Young Socialists are sponsoring a series of five classes on the "Lessons of the Russian Revolution" in Toronto on June 27-29. The classes, based on Leon Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution, will be given by Theodore Edwards.

Edwards has been a Marxist commentator on KPFX-Radio in Los Angeles since 1960. He debated Herbert Marcuse in San Diego in 1971, and was a speaker the same year in the San Francisco Socialist Scholars Conference. He is co-author of "Marxism and Christianity: Are They Compatible?" and translator of Rosa Luxemburg's book, Economics.

The first class will be held at 334 Queen St. W. (near Spadina) at 8:00 p.m. on Friday, July 27. Subsequent classes will be held Saturday and Sunday at Sydney Smith Hall on the University of Toronto. Registration is $1.00 per class or $5.00 for the weekend, including a party. Childcare will be provided. For further information phone 363-9618 or 364-4056.

labor Challenge p.1 #83 July 1973

Gov't presses charges vs Dr. Morgentaler

The real criminal is the law

by WENDY JOHNSTON
and PENNY SIMPSON

Dr. Henry Morgentaler stands accused of three charges of conspiring to perform and performing illegal abortions. Under the criminal code of Canada, he is a criminal.

But to the more than 5,000 women who have been able to get safe abortions at his modern clinic in Montreal despite the restrictive laws, Morgentaler is not the criminal — the law is.

"I do not believe that doing medically safe abortions is a criminal act," Morgentaler told the March 16, 1973 Conference of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws. "On the contrary, I feel very strongly that denying women safe abortions and exposing them to death and injury is criminal. I am firmly convinced that all those who oppose the liberalization of the Canadian abortion laws and those who have the power to act to change these laws yet do not do so, have a moral and perhaps more than moral responsibility for the deaths and injuries of women who died and continue to die and be injured as a result of self-inflicted or botched incompetent abortions, because they were denied access to safe medical procedures by the law."

Women began coming to Dr. Morgentaler for help in 1967 after he presented a brief for the Humanist Association to the Ottawa government calling for repeal of the abortion laws, and spoke widely on television and radio in favor of repeal. Faced with the dilemma of denouncing the laws and at the same time refusing to help these women because of the legal danger, Morgentaler set out on what he considers the only morally defensible course: to defy the cruel and unjust laws, and face possible life imprisonment.

Since that decision, Dr. Morgentaler has performed over 5,000 abortions. His clinic, even though the law considers it illegal, is one of the safest and most modern in North America. There have been no deaths among the 5,000 women. The death rate for abortions around the world, according to United Nations statistics, is one in 100. Only one half percent of Morgentaler's patients — 27 women — were hospitalized for complications, and all were successfully treated.

Armed with a safety record comparing favorably with the best U.S. clinics, Dr. Morgentaler wrote the Quebec Minister of Health, Claude Castonguay March 27 calling on the government to authorize his clinic to perform legal abortions under provincial medicare. Already ten doctors have offered to serve on a therapeutic abortion committee required by the present law, with the intention of approving an abortion

MacInnis introduces abortion law repeal bill

On July 6, Grace MacInnis, the NDP MP from Vancouver-Kingsway once again introduced into the House of Commons her private member's bill to have laws restricting abortion removed from the Criminal Code.

MacInnis told the Commons that "over 60 percent of the citizens have declared their belief that the decision on abortion should be made solely by the woman concerned and her doctor."

Referring to a declaration signed by 551 French doctors calling for liberalization of France's archaic abortion laws MacInnis cited the case of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Montreal physician who is before the courts, having admitted in open defiance of Canada's restrictive laws to performing some 5,000 abortions over the past few years. Such doctors, said MacInnis, "have found themselves unable to wash their hands of the matter and piously leave women to suffer the tortures and dangers of a pregnancy which they did not want, for which they are only partially responsible, and which, in far too many cases, they did not know how to prevent."

If the government is unwilling to immediately repeal the law, MacInnis concluded her Commons speech, "I urge it at least to send the subject matter of this bill to a committee, where the long-evaded public debate the government has promised since 1972 may find a proper forum."

Grace MacInnis

Ralph Stewart, Liberal member from Cochrane concluded the hour-long debate that followed MacInnis' presentation. "I am glad to know that the present Minister of Justice (Mr. Lang), as long as he is minister, will never allow this kind of law to be passed."

→p.3

labor Challenge #83

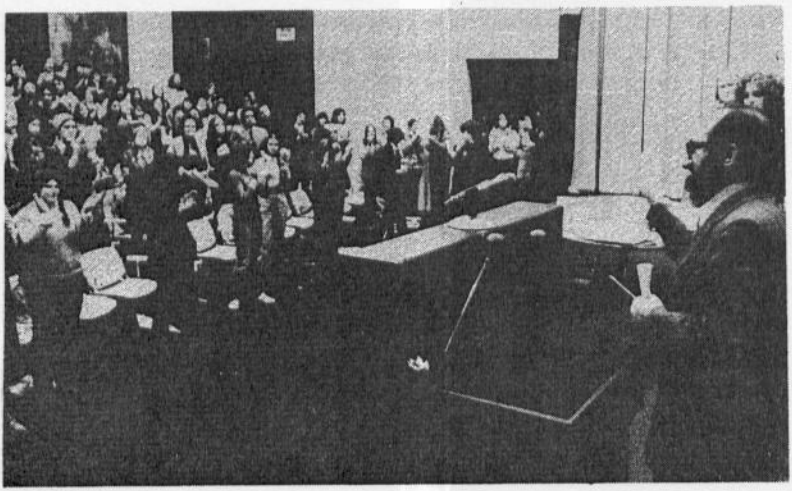
p. 2

Step up Morgentaler defense

by LINDA BLACKWOOD

On July 4, Montreal police raided the clinic of Dr. Yvan Macchabee, and charged him with performing illegal abortions. Macchabee now faces charges similar to those of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, who could receive life imprisonment if convicted. Both doctors have admitted they broke the law in order to provide safe abortions for women. They have become the targets for the government's attack on the movement for repeal of the abortion laws.

The attack — in this case by the Quebec government enforcing federal law — is a warning to others that opposition to the restrictive laws will be crushed. Both Morgentaler and Macchabee have spoken out for repeal; both recently appeared on CTV's W5 program to demonstrate how safe and simple the procedure of abortion is. Dr. Morgentaler has actively supported the campaign for a woman's right to abortion since 1967; Dr. Macchabee recently signed the "accomplice" petition declaring his solidarity with Morgentaler's stand on abortion.



This latest attack by the Quebec authorities is a serious one for the entire women's movement. The courts and the government must be stopped from convicting these doctors. It is in response to the growing demand by women for control over their bodies and the demand for repeal that the reactionary forces are lashing out to defeat the meager gains of women and to prevent them from winning further gains.

Prime Minister Trudeau recently encouraged the anti-abortion, anti-women forces of the "Alliance for Life," meeting with them in Ottawa and receiving their petition. The government has repeatedly refused to meet with pro-repeal groups. Federal Justice minister

→p. 3

labor Challenge p.3 #83

from p.2

Lang has launched an investigation into hospital abortion committees, claiming that they are in fact doing too many abortions. Ontario Health minister Potter has threatened to remove abortion from medicare coverage.

In Montreal, members of the anti-abortion group "Coalition for Life" are picketing the clinic of Dr. Morgentaler. Amidst these attacks, the defense of Dr. Morgentaler and Macchabee becomes all the more decisive. A victory for these doctors would inspire the campaign for repeal and move more forces into struggle against the government and its reactionary anti-women laws.

A mass campaign must be waged in defense of these doctors. Like the case of the Quebec labor leaders jailed in 1972 the courts will not have the final word. When masses of workers were mobilized in defense of the three, the courts were forced to free them. A similar campaign must be waged in defense of the victims of the abortion law. Supporters of repeal must unite in a campaign to demand the dropping of charges. Not only must Morgentaler and Macchabee be allowed to perform abortions legally in their clinics, but all abortion must be made legal — the laws must be repealed.

Already the support for the Morgentaler case is impressive. In Quebec, the Front Commun pour l'Abrogation des Lois sur l'Avortement is actively waging a campaign for the dropping of the charges. Plans are also underway to hold a picket line on Aug. 21 to coincide with Dr. Macchabee's appearance in court. In English Canada, the Canadian Women's Coalition for Repeal of the Abortion Laws, at its spring conference committed its resources to Morgentaler's defense.

The arrest of Dr. Macchabe signals the need to step up the campaign against the repressive abortion laws, focussing on defense of the two doctors whom the government has chosen as its target.

from p.1

for any woman who wanted one. Not only has the government refused such an authorization — they have intensified their campaign to jail him.

Montreal police raided Dr. Morgentaler's clinic June 1, 1970 and laid two charges against him. For three years, the police have been unable to bring Morgentaler to trial. In February 1973, they brought a new charge against him, this time with a witness they hoped would testify against him. The woman was brought to court where she testified that she had had an abortion. Her abortion caused her no pain, she said, and furthermore, she was in favour of abortions. Sixteen months after the operation, the police told her that they knew about her illegal abortion and that she had better cooperate. She said that they had forced her to come to the court. In the court-room she could not identify Dr. Morgentaler although he was present. On the basis of this circumstantial evidence, Morgentaler is being brought to trial in the fall.

Faced with the weakness of their case, police have now seized the film presented on CTV's public affairs program W5, showing Dr. Morgentaler performing an abortion in his clinic. Not only is the Quebec Ministry of "Justice" considering new charges against Morgentaler himself, police have again raided a Montreal abortion referral center in search of new evidence and charged Dr. Yvan Macchabee, one of Morgentaler's associates, with performing abortions illegally.

Is Dr. Henry Morgentaler being prosecuted because he is a criminal abortionist? Clearly not. Hundreds if not thousands of unskilled and semiskilled quacks continue to practice their deadly trade. They are almost never arrested. Unscrupulous doctors can quite safely continue to "fix" things for patients who can pay. The government doesn't care about those who do abortions just for the money, provided they do it in respectable silence, secrecy and shame. Dr. Morgentaler does abortions in defiance of the law because he thinks and says women have the right to abortion. That is the real "crime" Dr. Henry Morgentaler has committed — and that is what makes his prosecution under the criminal code an attack against women's right to abortion.

DR. HENRY MORGENTALER, presently before courts for pe forming abortions, receives standing ovation from cross-countr conference of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal th Abortion Laws, March 16, 1973 in Toronto.

labor Challenge #8

Alta. women reply to attacks

by SHEILA MAWSON

EDMONTON—On June 12, one hundred people heard a panel of activists from the Edmonton chapter of the Canadian Women's Coalition for Repeal of the Abortion Laws (CWC) reply to charges laid against the CWC by CHED-Radio in Edmonton. The meeting was originally scheduled as a debate with representatives of CHED, which has the largest listening audience of any radio station in Alberta, in response to a May 13 editorial by newscaster Bob Layton.

Layton described the CWC as "baby butchers," "a non-thinking womens group," "broads," and "sadistic sisters." His response to a CWC statement that thousands of women die in illegal, back-room abortions was, "Well, isn't that too bad."

Participants in the panel at the June 12 meeting were CWC activist, Karen Marsden, Susan Burwash, a campus executive member of the coalition, and Joan Cameron, chairwoman of the Edmonton CWC.

Cameron took up the question of CHED. "When women were fighting for the right to vote they waged a campaign in which there was no room for neutrality. The CWC is waging such a campaign today—a campaign for women's right to abortion. We know we have a majority of Canadians on our side. Editorial policies such as those adopted by CHED-Radio impose a minority viewpoint in the way of the growing majority. We demand that CHED reverse its editorial policy and support the campaign."

JOAN CAMERON, Chairwoman, Edmonton Chapter of the Canadian Womens Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws.

The audience responded with spirited applause. The ensuing discussion reiterated the necessity to build a united, mass campaign, to win women's right to choose whether or not to terminate a pregnancy.

Only a united women's movement can force repeal of the abortion laws. Conspicuously absent from the highly successful meeting were the women who organized the recent exclusion of members of the CWC from the Edmonton Women's Center, only weeks after Young Socialists were excluded from the Center. When women were under attack by CHED-Radio, when it is necessary that all women unite in defense of their right to control their bodies, the exclusionary women's "leaders" not only abstained from participating in the campaign against CHED, but discouraged other women from taking part in the CWC.

Yet the turnout at the July 12 meeting indicates that the CWC in Edmonton has big possibilities in building the campaign for repeal of Canada's restrictive abortion laws.

#83 July 1973
labor Challenge

Women press demands

Quebec teachers' convention

The following article, by a delegate to the CEQ convention, was translated by Labor Challenge from the Quebec socialist and independentist monthly Liberation.

CEQ WOMEN'S WORKSHOP. The special problems faced by Quebec's women teachers were among the issues highlighted by the CEQ convention.

More than 700 delegates participated in the twenty-third convention of the Corporation des Enseignants du Quebec (CEQ - Quebec Teachers Corporation) from July 3 to 7. At its last convention, last summer, following the historic strike of the Common Front, the CEQ which consisted of some 70,000 members, adopted the radical document "Schools in the Service of the Ruling Class." Of the 210,000 workers in the Common Front only the teachers did not sign the decree imposed by the government following the strike.

A recent poll conducted by the CEQ among 2,400 teachers revealed that 54 percent of teachers favor Quebec independence. Although it was not the subject of a big debate at the convention, the national question continues to play an important role in the workers movement as indicated by the current struggle against the "Cloutier plan" to step up English language instruction in primary schools and by the referendum on independence that the CEQ is mandated to organize here next spring.

The poll also revealed that 66 percent of teachers think that the union movement must denounce and fight (the Bourassa government's antilabor) Bill 89. The vast majority of the delegates catagorically rejected Bill 89, insisting that workers have fundamental and non-negotiable rights such as: "The right to unionize without any restraints, the unconditional right to strike, the right to free negotiations ..."

For the first time in Quebec, a union central came out for the main demands of the feminist movement. The campaign for the right to abortion and the feminist movement in general influenced the convention to take positions not only on the problems of women on the job, but also the problems of women in society. By a large majority, the delegates adopted a motion "for legalization and liberalization of abortion so that in the case of unwanted pregnancy any woman wanting an abortion can obtain it under healthy medical and psychological conditions."

In spite of the insistance of CEQ president Yvon Charbonneau that new questions such as women's place in society be left open for "further consideration," the delegates voted in favor of the following positions: "For child care centres funded by the state (free) and controlled by those who use them and the personnel"; "For abolition of Article 7 of the law for professional unions which requires a woman to have her husband's permission to join a union"; "Against school curriculums and attitudes which perpetuate women's alienation."

Women represent 66 percent of the members of the CEQ, but they are much less represented in the leadership posts of the CEQ. In order to promote women's participation in union life, convention delegates voted in favor of "child care services at all union meetings." Debate on the demand for wages for work done by women in the home came up at the convention and was referred for study and clarification.

The worsening crisis of capitalism in Quebec and the Bourassa offensive against the unions, far from frightening or intimidating the teachers is stirring up a more and more generalized hostility and defiance towards the capitalist regime. A tendency to recognize the incapacity of the political parties and even of institutions like the National Assembly to meet the interests and needs of workers expressed itself at the convention.

Take, for example, the motion adopted in favor of a "Popular National Assembly which would meet to adopt labor legislation which defends the needs and interests of the workers and no longer the interests of the owner-minority." Although this popular national assembly idea was posed as a mock parliament, the fact that it came up raises the need for a workers and farmers government as counterposed to the present capitalist government.

But how are the vast majority of workers, who are today tied to the capitalist political parties including the PQ going to break from capitalist politics and move toward the establishment of their own government? They cannot do this spontaneously.

They will have to break from the capitalist parties. The workers need their own political party — a labor party launched by the trade unions.

The concepts adopted by the convention for a "common program worked out by and for the workers" and for a "Popular National Assembly," stem from the objective need and growing desire of the workers for effective working class political action. But vague talk about a "Popular National Assembly" is no substitute for a program of concrete action by the unions now — Quebec workers

p.2

should come together in a nationwide inter-union congress to work out a common program preparatory to the launching of their own political party. Against the present capitalist regime, the unions must advance the concept of a workers' and farmers' government committed to a program of revolutionary anticapitalist measures. Such a congress of workers can map out an action program which can bring to bear the united strength of all workers in the daily struggle against antilabor laws, unemployment, police repression, language oppression, etc.

Instead of leading and educating the delegates towards class political independence, the leadership supported an amendment "that this program for the moment should not be posed within the framework of the formation of a political party." Likewise the "social-political" group ("partisans of the class struggle") seeing themselves as the left of the CEQ, supported this amendment and failed to offer the convention a valid class alternative, not distinguishing themselves from the leadership in any way on this fundamental question. Charbonnéau was therefore able to say to the convention that "There is nothing fundamental in debate between what is conventionally called the right and the left." But the necessity for the union movement to break with the capitalist parties, a task posed concretely by the slogan "The Unions Must Launch a Labor Party," cannot be ignored. It is necessary to show and to explain through concrete struggles and even through the logic of the common program that only an independent working class political party can defend and win a program "made by and for the workers." It is likely that this fundamental question will no longer be ignored at coming union conventions.

YVON CHARBONNEAU [right], president of the CEQ.

labor Challenge #83 July 1973

Edmontonton YS fights ban

by HENRY MALTA

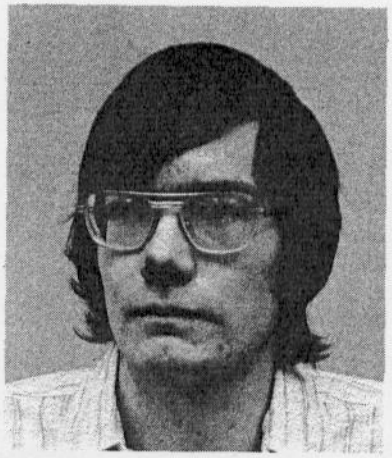
EDMONTON — Under the personal direction of University of Alberta student council president George Mantor, campus police evicted the Young Socialists (YS), a recognized campus club, from the Student Union Building (SUB) July 5. Young Socialists had been exercising the long-accepted right of all student and political groups to freely set up literature tables in SUB, the heart of political discussion and debate of U of A. Police said that the YS was "trespassing" and would be arrested if the table was not removed. The table was taken down under protest.

This ban on political activity comes at a time when the U of A administration has proposed a "Law and Order bill" which would control public address systems, campus speakers, films, publications of any kind and literature tables throughout the campus. This unprecedented action legitimizes the use of police force to control campus political activity.

Young Socialists immediately launched a major defense campaign. In a press release covered by all important news media in Edmonton, the YS called for the student council to reverse the ban and for "all campus clubs, groups and individuals to protest this outrageous, undemocratic act."

Amidst the controversy Mantor has issued a series of fabrications to justify the ban. He first claimed the table was a "fire hazard," then a source of "harassment," and finally that the whole event was an "amusing" publicity stunt rigged by the YS. However Mantor has refused to consult the fire inspector or to prove how harassment occurred. In fact, the student council rents flea market tables to various groups every Friday at a far greater fire hazard and bother.

Poundmaker, a government-financed community newspaper has also treated the ban as a joke,



HENRY MALTA, organizer of the Edmonton Young Socialists.

printing a story entitled "Trots challenge Mantor" with a background of monkeys. This incredible betrayal of student rights occurs despite the fact that Poundmaker itself had been banned only a few weeks before.

Young Socialists have challenged Mantor to publicly debate the real reasons for the ban. The YS is the largest, most active radical group at U of A campus, deeply involved in the struggles for women's liberation, against the education cutbacks, and day-to-day student activities. This ban is an attack by the student council executive on the right of socialists to put forward their politics in the movements for social change.

A Committee to Defend Student Rights has been set up to involve all groups and individuals opposing the ban. A petition is being circulated and representation by campus groups will be made at the next council meeting, demanding a reversal of the new policy. Young Socialists across the country have launched a campaign calling for all student councils and campus groups to condemn this dangerous action. Already UBC council president Brian Loomis called the ban "appalling" and "a flagrant disregard for everything the student movement has ever fought for."

In no other student union building in Canada is socialist literature banned. When Mantor was asked if he was aware that the right to setup literature and information tables existed everywhere else, he replied: "Those rights to not exist here."

This attack can be extended to other parts of the student movement. All groups and individuals must support a campaign to defend democracy in the student movement.

Editorial #83 July 1973 labor Challenge

Canadian unions?

The 1.7-million-member Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) is raising money for a special fund to fight raids on its affiliates by the 20,000-member Confederation of Canadian Unions (CCU). The CCU, for its part is attempting to win over CLC locals to its ranks with an appeal for "Canadian unions for Canadian workers."

Delegates to the NDP convention in Vancouver will be confronted with resolutions for and against Canadian rather than International unions. In considering this question, which has become a major concern for many NDP and trade union militants, it is necessary to put the debate in the context of what best serves the interests of Canadian workers in their fight against the bosses.

Internecine cross-raiding between the CLC and the CCU don't solve the real problems of unemployment, inflation and speed-up faced by workers. By fostering bitter union rivalry complete with smears and slander, they do the bosses an invaluable service, diverting unionists from their real objectives.

For or against Canadian unionism is not a matter of principle for socialists and militant unionists. What is a principle is that workers have the right to belong to the union they choose — and that these unions are free from interference and tampering by the government.

There is no shortage of bureaucratic-ridden Canadian unions whose members have no more rank-and-file control of union funds, leadership and policies than those of the most hardened and ossified American-based unions.

What socialists see as the real principle is the struggle to forge the unions into class-struggle instruments for workers' needs. This is impossible without rank-and-file democracy, whether the union is headquartered in Ottawa, Toronto, Washington or New York. Bureaucracies are, after all, a social phenomenon — not a national aberation endemic solely to the United States.

Lost in the debate over Canadian unions is the real challenge to all parts of the union movement to organize the unorganized — the 65 percent of Canadian workers presently working for miserably low wages under intolerable conditions.

Similarly missing from the debate is the struggle for policies which meet the real needs of the working class — both organized and unorganized. Among these policies which should become priorities for the labor movement are: for cost-of-living escalator clauses in every contract; a shorter work week with no loss in take-home pay to fight unemployment; nationalization under workers control of corporations which threaten to shut down their operations.

Struggles around such demands would breathe new life into the Canadian labor movement. They would also serve to expose the reformist and nationalist policies of the present bureaucratic leadership.

labor Challenge #83 July 1973

LSA / LSO resolution

Revolutionists and the NDP

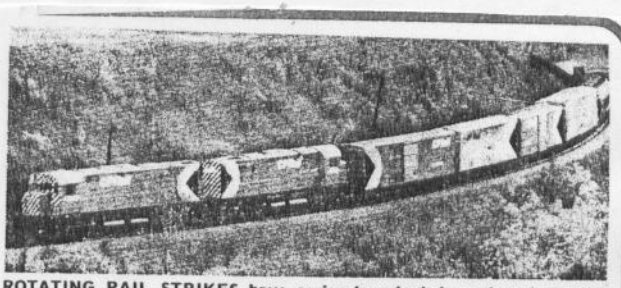
NO PHONY CANADIAN PEACE KEEPING TROOPS VIETNAM
END CANADAS Complicity
CANADA OUT OF NATO NORAD ICC
NO PHONY CANADIAN PEACE-KEEPING TROOPS TO VIETNAM

TOMMY DOUGLAS, then NDP leader, addresses anti-war demonstration during 1971 NDP convention. Through intervention in labor party, revolutionists can win party ranks to support independent mass actions.

WAFFLE DEMONSTRATION for public ownership of energy resources in summer, 1971 is addressed by former Manitoba MLA, Cy Gonick.

Hands off rail, air strikes

page 3



ROTATING RAIL STRIKES have seriously crippled services in several regions as railway non-operating employees wage struggle to catch up to rising cost of living. NDP and entire labor movement must come to rail workers' defense by opposing any government intervention.

labor Challenge

AUGUST 6, 1973
Vol. 4, No. 14 (84)
25 CENTS

Vol 4 No 14(84) Aug 1973

Feminism shakes up NDP convention

by DICK FIDLER

VANCOUVER — The seventh biennial convention of the federal New Democratic Party, meeting here July 19-22, registered the further hardening of the liberal-reformist leadership's political and organizational control over the party since the forced exit last year of the party's left-wing Waffle caucus in Ontario. From the adoption of the agenda to federal leader David Lewis's closing speech, the brass were firmly in command.

But unexpectedly strong and determined rank-and-file dissent with the leadership's policies broke through at many points, spearheaded by a militant women's caucus which campaigned for the party to commit itself actively to the struggle for women's rights. And a new left-wing grouping was formed with cross-country connections, continuing the fight for socialist policies within the party.

This was the first federal convention since the left-wing "Waffle" grouping's exit from the party. The

Special convention coverage pages 6-11

reduced forces of the left were reflected in the much smaller number of delegates who spoke for socialist positions at this convention — just over 10 percent of the 1,034 delegates — in conrast to the large number of left delegates at the 1971 convention where the "Waffle" had entered the leadership contest.

The Lewis leadership orchestrated this convention to demonstrate the party's "coming of age" as a

→p2

photo by Werner Steinmetz

NDP MP GRACE MACINNIS was given NDP convention floor to make powerful appeal in defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, Montreal doctor presently before courts for defying Canada's restrictive abortion laws. At right is Joyce Meissenhaimer, B.C. provincial executive member, and the chairwoman of convention's militant women's caucus.

Canadian Watergates exposed - 5

P-2

"responsible" major party in Canadian politics. The agenda was dominated by two major speeches by Lewis and lengthy "reports" by each of the three NDP provincial premiers, underscoring the party's electoral advances in recent years. Less than 12 hours were allocated to policy debate in a four-day convention!

Delegates were constantly reminded that this was a "pre-election" convention. Much of Lewis's opening report to delegates was spent in arguing that the parliamentary caucus's alliance with the minority Liberal government had yielded significant concessions to working people. It was a slim balance-sheet, even by Lewis's own count — an increase in old-age and veterans' pensions, improved family allowances, a new housing bill, foreign investment and election expenses bills, and the stalemating of the

see page 6

NDP convention

Leadership hardens, left

continued from page 1

government's proposed changes to the Unemployment Insurance Act.

LEWIS CRITICIZED

In an unprecedented question and discussion period following this report, Lewis was harshly criticized by many delegates who noted that these modest gains hardly justified the party's virtual abandonment of an independent stance in opposition to the Liberals. Some delegates pointed out that the NDP's MPs were not fighting in parliament for popular and necessary policies in the party's program, but were instead limiting their demands on the government to whatever was possible within the framework of collaborating with the Liberals' legislative program.

An equally large part of Lewis's report was devoted to projecting the further parliamentary aims of the party leadership. These measures, around which Lewis intends to center the NDP's campaign in the next federal election, largely determined the subject-matter of the resolutions brought before the delegates by the official resolutions committee. They included a national energy policy, resolutions on the cost of living, housing, taxation, agriculture and similar "bread and butter" issues. In all cases, the leadership's proposals were adopted without substantial amendment.

The Lewis leadership also took advantage of its assured voting majority at the convention to propose a number of amendments to the party constitution which strengthen the control of the bureaucratic apparatus over the party's organization and decision-making structures.

In the election of officers and the federal council, the leadership's slate of nominations was elected all down the line by large majorities over contending candidates.

RESTRICTIVE PROCEDURES

Left-wing delegates were often stymied by restrictive procedures (three-minute limit on speakers, no direct amendment of resolutions from the floor, little advance notice of what resolutions were coming up for debate, etc.). Resolutions expressing positions long advanced by the socialists were simply ignored by the resolutions committee.

But despite these obstacles, opposition to the brass's liberal-reformist program was expressed on all major questions that came before the delegates.

WOMEN'S CAUCUS

The highlight of the convention was the development of a powerful women's caucus which met several times and organized a floor fight that triumphed in adoption of resolutions committing the party to call a cross-country conference of NDP women, name a women's organizer and schedule a half-day debate on women's rights at the next convention. The convention endorsed an appeal by MP Grace MacInnis to support Dr. Henry Morgentaler, who is currently facing charges of performing illegal abortions in his Montreal clinic. The caucus also voted to establish a continuing cross-country structure with correspondents and activists in every major area.

The major policy confrontation between the left and the right wings of the party occurred on the energy issue. (See separate article.)

But left-wing delegates put forward the socialist alternative on other questions too.

WAGE CONTROLS REJECTED

Two of the three NDP premiers, Schreyer of Manitoba and Blakeney of Saskatchewan, in their speeches to the convention, called for wage and price controls. B.C.'s Barrett favored wage controls, too, but thought it was "too late" — he said they should have been applied two years ago! The federal leadership's "cost of living" resolution rejected their views, asserting that "across-the-board wage and price controls are not the answer to the present rise in living costs." But its rejection of wage controls was hedged ("across-the-board") and it called for "selective" price controls, while avoiding any proposal that would get at the source of escalating prices and rebut the lie that workers' wage levels cause inflation. Instead, it claimed that "the answer to rising food costs lies primarily in increasing food production in Canada" — just what the Trudeau government argues.

Joe Flexer (Toronto-Parkdale) moved to replace this resolution with one from his riding calling for the shorter workweek (thirty hours work at forty hours pay), opening of the books of the giant corporations to expose business secrecy, formation of price-watch committees by unions, consumers, housewives and farmers, and rejection of all forms of incomes policies or wage controls.

Speaking in defense of this resolution, Marilyn Jones (Toronto-Broadview) pointed out that rising food costs are the product of the multinational corporations in the food processing industries. Charles Lee of St. Catharines attacked the leadership's resolution as "nineteenth century antideluvian classical economics." The "free marketplace," he noted, "went out with (the advent of) monopoly capitalism." There could be no solution to high food prices without

→P.3

labor Challenge #84

emerges

p.3

tackling monopoly in the food processing industry.

The amendment was defeated, but even many who opposed it were critical of the main resolution. Art Shultz of Oshawa-Whitby said it "does not give us the talking points to provide answers to high prices."

HOUSING

The leadership's resolution on housing described housing as "a basic human right like food, health care and eduction," yet rejected the solution normally applied to the last two — government-operated services. It projected a five-year program to "encourage cooperatives and non-profit groups to become major providers of housing in Canadian cities and towns." It promised that an NDP government would "build housing directly through a national building corporation" — but only "if non-profit and cooperative groups, the provinces and the private sector fail to build enough housing for Canada's needs.",

Maurice Flood (Vancouver-Centre) moved an amendment calling for removal of housing production from the private market, for public housing with low rents under tenants' control. "You cannot tackle housing in a piecemeal fashion," Flood argued. "Private interests have to be pushed out of the housing industry, and housing must be produced on the basis of need, not profits." Several delegates spoke in support of this amendment. Brian Duhig (Eglinton) noted that the major source of high housing costs is the domination of the housing market by huge developers. "We must cut off the roots of these corporations," he said, by nationalizing them.

Michael Cassidy, an Ontario MPP who had introduced the main resolution, intervened to bait the amendment, claiming it would scrap the whole resolution "in favor of an ideological slogan that would force everyone into public housing, so that all will become tenants."

INDOCHINA

When the resolutions committee brought in a motion on Vietnam calling for release of Saigon's 200,000 political prisoners and Canadian diplomatic recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary government, Tony De Felici (York South) raised the question of Canada's complicity in the International Commission of Control and Supervision, denouncing the NDP caucus's support of the ICCS membership. "The NDP should have spoken out consistently in support of the right to self-determination of the Vietnamese people," he declared.

Richard De Gaetano (Winnipeg South), former executive secretary of the Toronto-based Vietnam Mobilization Committee, pointed out how the peace accord signed last January and supported by the NDP leadership, violates Vietnamese self-determination. He called for an end to Canada's peacekeeping role around the world. "Canadian troops, as agents of imperialism, can only play the role of aggressors against liberation forces," he noted.

A resolution condemning the bombing of Cambodia and Laos was strengthened with an amendment by Maurice Flood (Vancouver-Centre) to read that the NDP "go on record as calling for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces and materiel from Cambodia, Laos and Southeast Asia." The resolutions committee incorporated this change into its motion without debate — a small but significant victory for the antiwar activists who have fought long and hard for years to commit the NDP to an "Out Now" position. Better late than never.

DELEGATES LINE UP at the mikes during convention policy debate. photo by Werner Steinm

ENVIRONMENT

The total vacuousness of the NDP leadership's program, their inability to project the socialist alternative in areas of society where masses of people are developing anticapitalist conclusions, was indicated clearly in the resolution on the environment. It blamed pollution on the "wastefulness of a consumer-oriented society" and called for a royal commission "to launch a thorough study of our resources and of the strategies we must evolve to conserve them."

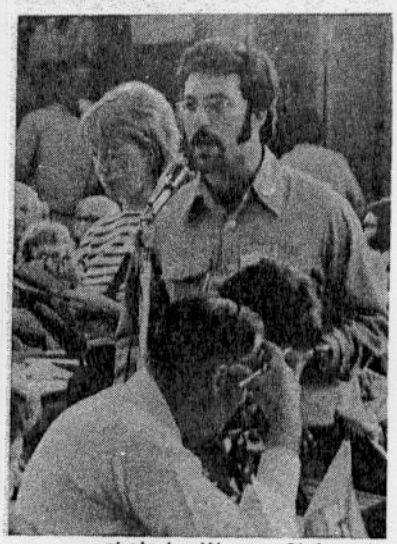


photo by Werner Steinmetz

RICHARD DEGAETANO, Winnipeg, challenged NDP federal caucus's support for Canada's participation in Vietnam "peacekeeping" force.

This nonsense was attacked by several delegates. Ed Livingston (Vancouver Centre) argued that the "wastefulness" of this society results from the distorted socially irresponsible priorities of a profit-motivated society, not the foibles of

→p.4

"consumers," most of them working people. He also attacked the resolution's call for "population restraint" — another argument frequently employed by those seeking to put the blame for pollution on people, not corporate capitalism.

Among other resolutions adopted by the convention:

- a transportation policy that calls for "public ownership of all railroad right-of-way, the CPR and CP Air and subsidiary trucking companies";
- a resolution on aboriginal rights, introduced by NorthWest Territories MP and native leader Wally Firth, which while limited, is consistent with the principles of self-determination for native peoples;
- a resolution on "freedom of association" or workers which defends workers' right to organize in whatever organizations they wish — the NDP's answer to those who make a fetish of "national" unions. There was little discussion on this resolution. No one spoke for the "Canadian union" position.

photo by Werner Steinmetz

WALLY FIRTH, native MP, presented policy resolution on native rights.

LEFT-WING SLATE

Almost all of the delegates who spoke for the left-wing alternative to the leadership's proposals participated in a loosely-organized but broad caucus formation, which contested the federal council elections under the title "Delegates for Socialist Policies." The caucus met several times during the convention. Its candidates received between 15 and 30 percent of the vote in the elections.

Earlier, Varda Kidd, a delegate from Toronto-Rosedale, had run for president of the party, winning 164 votes against incumbent Donald Macdonald's 648. Her nomination speech had centered on the need for the party to speak out in defense of workers' right to organize and strike, and against wage controls. She also called on the party to "rally behind other groups" like women, singling out the struggles for "abortion, day care, and equal pay" as struggles that the NDP "must support and lead."

Douglas Campbell (Toronto-St. Paul's) ran against David Lewis for federal leader on a sectarian platform that failed to mention most of the key issues taken up by the left delegates during the convention. He received 76 votes against Lewis's 719, with 45 spoiled ballots. Neither Campbell nor Kidd solicited the formal support of the caucus of Delegates for Socialist Policies.

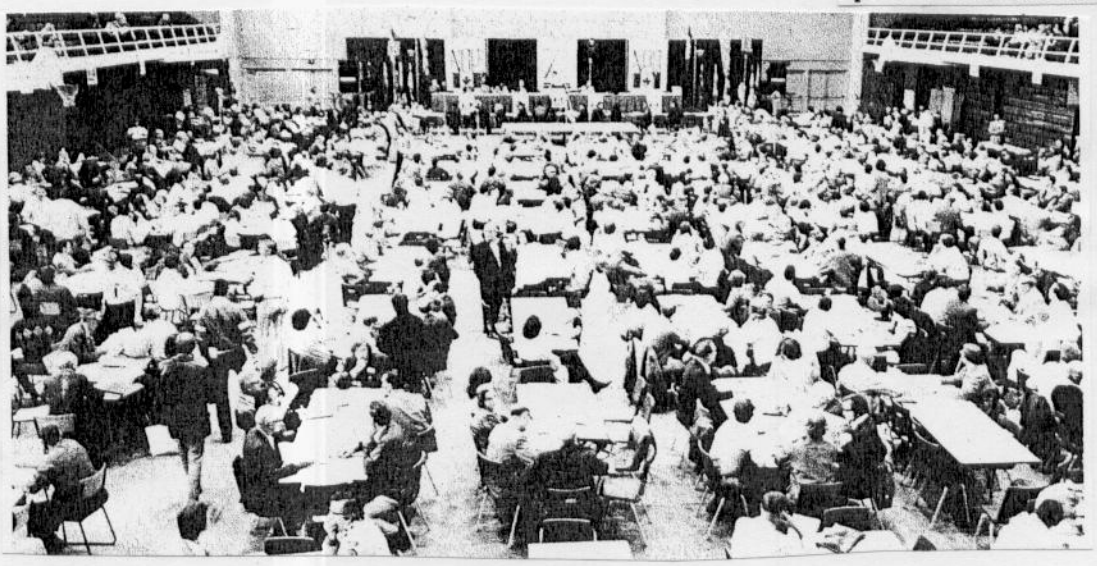
A "Regional Caucus" of nationalist coloration (its leaflets were headed by a reproduction of the Canadian flag) surfaced on the eve of the convention. Headed by Hartley Dent, deputy speaker of the B.C. legislative assembly, it campaigned briefly for the convention to adopt the Regina Manifesto, founding statement of the NDP's predecessor, the CCF, as the preamble to the party's constitution, and as an anti-Lewis organizatonal caucus calling for more balanced representation from the various regions of the country on the party's federal council. Its slate for federal vice-presidents included right-wingers like John Burton, former MP from Saskatchewan (the only NDPer in the last parliament to oppose abortion law repeal); Sidney Green, Manitoba cabinet minister; Peggy Prowse, former provincial secretary in Nova Scotia, and Nancy Eng, president of the Alberta NDP, Those of its candidates who were elected were also on the Lewis machine's slate.

The "Regional Caucus" played no apparent role in the convention's policy debates.

"WAFFLE" ABSENT

As for the "Waffle" caucus, this convention apparently marked its complete demise. Its leading spokespersons were either absent or buried in their riding delegations. The only reference to the Waffle on the convention floor occurred when a delegate attacked the federal leadership for not moving to block the Ontario leadership's proscription of the Waffle. George Gilkes, a former leader of the Ontario Waffle and delegate from Hamilton, took the microphone to protest: "You shouldn't attack the federal council for something that happened in Ontario," he chided the critic. When Ontario NDP president Mel Swart then tried to justify the ban on the Waffle ("We can't have two parties within one party") he was cheered by the majority of delegates.

Many persons in the Delegates for Socialist Policies caucus had formerly been active in the Waffle. Their activities in the convention assured the continuation of the positive work that the Waffle had conducted, in fighting for socialist policies within the NDP.



labor Challenge #84 Aug. 1973

Lewis challenged at first session

VANCOUVER — For the first time in the history of the federal New Democratic Party, the leader's report to the delegates was challenged at this convention.

The convention had barely opened when delegate Joyce Meissenheimer (Burnaby-Seymour), a member of the B.C. provincial executive, moved during debate on adoption of the agenda that time be allocated for questions and debate on David Lewis's leadership report. Referring to the federal parliamentary caucus's vote with the government last year to break the B.C. longshoremen's strike, and the possibility they might do the same in the impending railway strike, Meissenheimer argued strongly that members must be given a way to hold the leadership accountable, short of seeking to replace it through election.

The tradition in the NDP, however, is for reports to be accepted by acclamation. Except on those rare occasions of a leadership contest, the leader is held to be somewhat above internal party politics, the unquestioned figurehead and synonym for the party itself. This time not only Lewis, but each of the three NDP provincial premiers had been allowed a half hour to address the convention without provision for even questioning by the delegates. Thus it was with some surprise that chairman Donald Macdonald, the NDP federal president, reported — after two successive votes — that Meissenheimer's motion had passed!

When Lewis had finished his hour-long report the four floor microphones were lined ten-deep with delegates waiting to speak. Many interventions centered around the NDP's parliamentary role.

"We are making parliament work

photo by Werner Steinmetz

Donald Macdonald, left, and David Lewis

— but for whom?" demanded Liz Barkley (Rosedale), referring to the title of an NDP pamphlet in delegates' kits attempting to justify the MPs' support of the Trudeau government. "I say we are making parliament work for the Liberals."

The NDP had exposed part of the capitalist power structure last year with its campaign against the "corporate welfare bums," she said. But "today in fact the NDP is in alliance with the corporate welfare bums of the Liberals. We have no independent status. We have become the left flank of the Liberals. We are not getting anything substantial by cosying up — just crumbs." She and other delegates pointed to the NDP's vote to maintain the financing of the government's secret Police and Security Planning and Analysis Group as evidence of how thoroughly it was committed to support of the Liberal minority government.

Instead of claiming it is necessary to support the Liberals to win some modest legislative concessions, Barkley stated, the NDP should be demonstrating to working people that they can win real and lasting changes "only by our own efforts, independent of the big business parties." The leadership's parliamentary conduct was increasingly tending to blur the party's programmatic independence from big business, at the expense of the NDP's working class base, she said.

Mary Trew (Toronto Spadina) challenged Lewis on the NDP's failure to seriously fight inside and outside parliament for the demands raised by the women's liberation movement.

The NDP, she said, must provide women with a real alternative to the big business parties. "We should be fighting for implementation of the policies in the party's program — like equal pay and job opportunities, free 24-hour community-controlled child care and abortion law repeal."

These themes were taken up by many other delegates. Shaken by the

→p. 2

angry tone of the challenge, and the degree of applause that greeted many of these remarks Lewis replied with a demagogic attempt to redbait his critics. "I don't want to enter a debate with someone who holds all the socialist purity in the palm of her hand," he arrogantly retorted to Barkley.

As to criticism of the NDP's vote on the Watergate-style spy agency, he claimed, it "has no power whatever to carry on investigations — it merely looks at the results of RCMP and military intelligence." And in any case, if the NDP had denied financing for the security branch, it would have had to kill funds for the penitentiaries system. "We would have been pretty darned irresponsible if we'd defeated that."

Barry Weisleder (Toronto Eglinton) challenged Lewis on the NDP leadership's support of Canada's participation in the International Commission of Control and Supervision (ICCS) in Vietnam, and urged the party "to do solidarity work" in support of the colonial revolution. Lewis replied that the NDP's position was in "solidarity" with that of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the National Liberation Front and the North Vietnamese, who all supported the ICCS. He angrily denounced what he called "this irresponsible denunciation of myself, Tommy Douglas and Stanley Knowles who fought the war in Vietnam before this young man even knew Vietnam existed."

This demagogic peroration brought a large part of the convention to its feet applauding Lewis — revealing the lack of understanding in the NDP of the party's failure to give strong and consistent leadership in defense of Vietnamese self-determination.

While only a minority of delegates applauded the critics, the very fact that the debate took place indicated clearly that a substantial minority of the membership is dissatisfied with the leadership's political line. The open challenge to Lewis so early in the convention, the very audacity of the critics' attack, did much to alert the delegates to the continuing existence of a layer of socialists in the NDP. And it encouraged many delebates to attend the first meeting of the left-wing caucus that night to discuss how to plan and coordinate the struggle for the socialist alternative within the party. (D.F.)

photo by Werner Steinmetz

MAURICE FLOOD, Vancouver delegate, attacked NDP caucus support to government's Police and Security Analysis Group.

labor Challenge #84 Aug 1973

NDP convention

Caucus campaigns for women's rights

photo by Isolde Belfont

WOMEN'S CAUCUS MEETING. Feminists challenged NDP to fight for the demands of the women's liberation movement.

by RACHEL WOODHOUSE
and JACQUIE HENDERSON

VANCOUVER — When the resolution calling for a cross-country conference of NDP women to be held within a year came on the convention floor, women delegates were in line 10 deep behind all of the four floor microphones. The atmosphere in the convention hall was excited and expectant. This was the opening of the debate on women's rights — a debate which soon became the highlight of the four-day convention in spite of the attempts of convention planners to keep the topic off the floor.

Yvonne Cocke, third vice-president of the B.C. NDP, kicked off the debate by saying that at the last federal NDP convention she rose to speak against a similar resolution. "I said then that I don't need an abortion; I have a job with equal pay; I don't have any problems. But in the meantime I have found that women in this country do have problems and the people of Canada are not addressing themselves to these problems — and neither is this party!"

"We have passed resolution after resolution paying lip service to things we feel should happen for women, so we think the job is done," she continued. "I am here to tell you that they are not happening. If they are then how come we still don't have day care in the provinces that are headed by socialist governments?"

Her comments urging support for the women's conference resolution were interrupted several times by cheering and clapping.

Vancouver delegate Hilda Thomas pointed out that women have to organize in order to achieve any real gains and that the conference would help make it possible for women to do precisely that.

Eleanor O'Connor, a delegate from Toronto and a member of the Federal Council of the NDP, moved to refer the resolution, objecting to the fact that the resolution didn't define the conferene as delegated and open to men as well as women. This referral, aimed at removing the motion from the floor, was soundly defeated after a strong statement of support for the conference by B.C. Health minister Dennis Cocke. Women's rights, he said is "one of the most vital questions facing our party today. If we are not now in favor of creating a women's movement in this party, it's about time we should be."

The conference resolution was passed by a large and cheering majority.

The next motion, calling for the hiring of a women's organizer "to aid and promote NDP policy for women and to develop liaison with other women's groups," was also passed.

SPECIAL DEBATE AT NEXT CONVENTION

A third resolution, for at least one-half day of discussion of women's rights at the next federal convention, generated strong opposition. Speaking for the resolution, Varda Kidd of Toronto drew the attention of the delegates to the fact that women have been fighting in the party for six years to have a discussion of women's rights.

One woman who opposed the resolution because she considered herself "already of equal status to men" because she is an NDP member, said she feared the motion would allow "an extremist debate that will drive half our party out of this hall."

When the vote was taken the chairman declared it lost. But Marilyn Jones (Toronto-Broadview) called for a standing vote which registered the motion carried, 403 for to 345 against. The announcement of the vote was greeted by tumultuous applause.

SUPPORT DR. MORGENTALER

While the chairman was trying to bring the convention to order and move off the women's rights resolutions to the next order of business, Joyce Meissenheimer (Burnaby-Seymour) moved that discussion be held on the resolution calling for a defense campaign for Dr. Morgentaler and that MP Grace MacInnis be allowed to speak on this question. The momentum of the previous victories carried over and MacInnis was allowed to take the mike. (See article this issue.)

The final mobilization of women's caucus took place the following day when a resolution entitled "Family Life" came to the floor. This resolution was initially scheduled to take up part of the time allotted to women's rights and substitute for all women's rights resolutions except the one on the conference.

Burris Devanney, chairman of the resolutions subcommittee which dealt with women's rights (along with "miscellaneous"), came to the first women's caucus meeting to justify the "Family Life" resolution. He explained to the 120 women present that he was the author of this "composite" resolution. It had been written, he said because there wasn't the "input" by constituencies. The women protested that there were 19 women's rights resolutions, that this one didn't resemble any of them, and moreover wasn't about women's rights at all.

Devanney agreed that the resolution was as much a "man's resolution" as a "woman's". This, he said, was one of its virtues. He went on to make it quite clear that none of the 19 resolutions would come to the floor unless he and his subcommittee happened to agree with them. For instance, resolutions calling for support of Dr. Morgentaler were given a low priority while one opposing women's right to abortion got a high rating.

→p. 2

p.2

Further, he explained, his committee could "see no sense" in introducing resolutions relating to existing party policy — in spite of the fact that none of the existing women's rights, policy has been campaigned for or implemented by the party.

When the women's caucus par-

photo by Werner Steinmetz

Hilda Thomas

ticipants couldn't take this male chauvinist arrogance quietly, and responded angrily with comments and questions, one woman rose to defend Devanney. Eleanor O'Connor told the caucus, "You are the rudest group of people I have ever met."

'FAMILY LIFE' IS NOT WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Hilda Thomas expressed the caucus's anger when she told Devanny, "This is most unjust! 'Family Life' is not women's rights. I feel very angry that our time should be used for this resolution. It is an insult. The Morgentaler resolution concerns one of the most vital questions we face. But simply because the committee disagrees with it they have given it a low priority so it won't come up. This is most undemocratic."

The caucus rejected the "Family Life" resolution as a women's resolution and demanded that no time be allowed for it under the women's rights item on the convention agenda. The caucus also decided to demand at least one hour's debate on five women's rights resolutions. The resolutions concerned the cross-country NDP women's conference, defense of Dr. Morgentaler, appointment of the organizer, a special debate on women's issues at the 1975 convention, an NDP commission on women, and support for abortion law repeal.

When the "Family Life" resolution was introduced at the end of the convention on Sunday, the caucus was unable to mobilize enough support to get it referred, although much opposition was expressed.

Marily Sarti of Vancouver moved the referral motion with specific instructions for deletions and additions. She proposed the first paragraph, which included such statements as "It is not unnatural for mothers to want to work outside the home," be deleted; that references to marriage be deleted throughout; to amend the resolution to allow for salaries for parents to remain home any time through the child's life, not just the first few months; to add the demand for 24-hour child care; and to delete statements which imply that children are possessions of parents, and replace them with a statement upholding the rights of children as individuals.

Mary Trew of Toronto elaborated the attack on the resolution, calling it "inadequate to say the least." It represented a "backtracking on party policy," she argued, pointing out that it "contradicts motions passed yesterday." Trew explained that much of the motivation in the preamble "is entirely unacceptable. It cuts against the entire thrust of the women's movement. Women can no longer be defined simply through their relationships with their husbands and children." She concluded that while paying lip service to freedom of choice, "this resolution doesn't challenge the economic compulsion that is the very basis of the family."

Cynthia Flood, a Vancouver delegate, supported the referral motion. While some of the specific recommendations of the resolution were acceptable, she argued the whole tone of it was extremely patronizing. Moreover there were "glaring gaps" in the recommendations, most notably no reference to 24-hour child care and no mention of abortion services under proposed neighborhood health clinics. Flood also noted that the resolution refused to recognize the existence and the rights of single parents, homosexual men and women, and children themselves, and that it implied that the conventional nuclear family structure was the only valid form of group life.

The referral was defeated and the main motion passed, but the response from delegates indicated clearly that many were dissatisfied with the position taken.

MILITANT FEMINIST GROUP

The women's caucus was a well-organized militant feminist group which successfully challenged the leadership's well-oiled convention machine. It had three large meetings during the convention. At the first, a "strategy committee" of ten women was struck off to lead the intervention on the floor. After the caucus meetings, leaflets were produced reporting on the decisions of the meeting and urging delegates to support them.

Unlike at some previous conventions, no one in the caucus raised limiting the group to strictly "socialist women" or to some other select group. All women at the convention who wanted to fight for women's rights were encouraged to attend. Participants included women from many different political viewpoints.

The caucus endorsed nine women candidates for the federal executive and council on the basis of their stated support for the aims of the caucus. In most cases they received a large minority of the vote. But only two of the women, Joyce Nash, for vice-president and Betty McClurg, federal council, who were also on the slate of the party brass, were elected.

The final caucus meeting at the convention heard reports from B.C., Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Ontario — representatives from Manitoba and Quebec having to leave the meeting early. Joan Campana reported on the background to the Morgentaler case as well as on the Tribunal on Abortion called for Nov. 3 in Ottawa by the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws and le Front Commun pour l'Abrogation des Lois sur l'Avortement. And Eleanor Pelrine reported on the founding of a group, the Canadian Association for the Repeal of the Abortion Laws (CARAL).

The meeting voted to make the defense of Dr. Morgentaler one of its ongoing projects and to elect a cross-country steering committee to help plan the NDP women's conference, make recommendations for the women's organizer, etc. Approximately two dozen women were elected with Joyce Meissenheimer chosen as chairwoman. One of the first tasks of the committee will be broadening it to include women from provinces underrepresented at the convention.

The activities of the women's caucus at this convention represent a big step forward for the women's

→p.3

labor Challenge #84 p.3

Equal pay won in B.C. strike

by HOWARD BROWN

An eight-day west coast strike by the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union (UFAWU) ended in victory July 15. The 6,500 fishermen, tenders and shoreworkers won substantial gains, among them a guarantee of equal pay for women over the life of the two-year contract.

Particularly significant were the gains made by tendermen and shoreworkers. Tendermen, who only work three or four months a year, but very long hours, won wage increases amounting to $140 a month across-the-board in the first year and $120 a month in the second, together with improvements in working conditions. Shoreworkers received an across-the-board increase of 80 cents an hour retroactive to April 9, and a further 70 cents next April. Rates for tradesmen, cold storage workers and fresh fish general labor increased 31.3, 36.8 and 38.7 percent respectively over the 1972 rates, with various classifications receiving special adjustments. The wage differential between experienced workers and beginners was closed to 25 cents.

UFAWU cannery agreements had been one of the most notorious examples of wage discrimination against working women. Two supplementary wage agreements, one colored blue and the other pink would set out wage conditions for men and women.

Women in the union voted solidly for the strike action, despite the fact that the companies were forced to make equal pay concessions prior to the strike. The settlement gives women the same general wage increase as men, in addition to special equal pay supplements. Women cannery workers in various categories received wage increases from 63 to 75 percent. Contract stipulations that provided inferior working conditions for women were deleted. The men's and women's seniority lists will be merged.

Fishermen working on a piecework basis did not do as well as the wage-workers in the industry. There was considerable disunity among them — as reflected in the close 58 percent vote to reject the companies' offer. This contrasted with the united militancy of the tendermen and shoreworkers who voted down a company offer by 92 percent, and whose militancy increased as the strike progressed.

But on the whole, the strike was a major victory — a product of the solidarity and militancy of the workers in all three sections of the industry.

B.C. FISHERMEN'S STRIKE was short and sharp thanks to militancy and unity of strikers. Shown here is picket line at Seafood Product's plant in Port Hardy, B.C. Equal pay for women was a central issue of conflict.

From p. 2

movement as a whole. Through the struggle many women learned important lessons about the need to unite and organize in order to achieve even modest victories.

The determination shown by the women and the strong feeling of sisterhood gained through the struggle — reflected in the women's caucus meetings and the innumerable informal meetings and discussions throughout the convention — made it clear that the organized women's movement within the NDP is going to be a force to be reckoned with for the party's conservative and bureaucratic leadership.

labor Challenge
#84 Aug 1973

NDP convention

Pledge defense for abortion law victim

by JACQUIE HENDERSON

VANCOUVER — The resolutions committee gave the motion a "low priority" rating, thus hindering it from getting to the floor of the convention. The chairman ruled it out of order, claiming that all the time for debate of women's rights issues was used up.

And yet Grace MacInnis, MP (Vancouver- Kingsway) **did** get to speak on the resolution calling for defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Montreal physician charged under the abortion section of the Criminal Code of Canada. And the convention **did** vote overwhelmingly to adopt the sentiments of her speech which were to "do all we can to come to the defense of this courageous doctor."

This decision climaxed a heated debate on women's rights in which three other resolutions furthering the feminist struggle were adopted. Following the third and last scheduled motion, Joyce Meissenheimer, a Vancouver delegate, asked for the indulgence of the chair to hear from the NDP's one woman MP on the resolution concerning the case of Dr. Morgentaler."

When the chairman replied there was no time, the convention reacted strongly. Party leader David Lewis then intervened to call on the chair to allow Grace MacInnis to speak for ten minutes.

MacInnis compared the case of Dr. Morgentaler to that of an Ottawa social worker charged 40 years ago with having broken a provision in the Criminal Code that prohibited distribution of birth control information.

"The forces of reaction and the Establishment were unleashed against the social worker. But she was aquitted and later the section under which she was prosecuted was removed from the Criminal Code.

"Today abortion is in exactly the same position. It is in the Criminal Code and we say it should come out. The same people who were responsible for the social worker's prosecution now are responsible for piling up the unnecessary toll of illegal abortions.

"Dr. Morgentaler is someone who couldn't bear to pass by on the other side when confronted by the fact that women were suffering misery and mutilation and death. Dr. Morgentaler went ahead and did abortions. Today he is facing charges under the Criminal Code. . ."

She concluded by calling on the convention to "come to the defense of this courageous doctor."

The delegates rose to their feet in a standing ovation. When the chair called for a vote on the sentiments expressed by MacInnis the overwhelming majority voted in favor.

The vote signified a big victory for delegates who had been organizing on this question throughout the convention. By prosecuting Dr. Morgentaler the government has made his case a focus for the struggle between those forces trying to block women from having any control of their bodies and lives,

photo by Werner Steinmetz

Grace MacInnis

trying to bring about even stricter enforcement of the abortion laws and those defending him, who are struggling to make abortion a woman's right to choose.

This confrontation was obvious at the NDP convention. Members of anti-abortion "Right to Life" groups distributed glossy brochures with large pictures of fetuses. They lobbied delegates, urging them to wear buttons displaying a fetus and the words, "hang in there BABY." A resolution calling for "reexamination" of the NDP policy on repeal to take into account the "rights" of fetuses and responsible fathers was allocated a higher priority that the pro-Morgentaler resolutions. Moreover the convention's resolutions committee was recommending concurrence with the reactionary resolution.

But participants in the women's caucus lobbied delegates strenuously and harassed the resolutions committee to get the defense of Morgentaler on the convention floor. In addition an appeal calling for a widespread defense was circulated. The appeal noted that "it has for several years been the policy of the NDP to call for repeal of abortion from the Criminal Code. Our 1971 convention passed a motion instructing an NDP government, when elected, to pardon all qualified medical practictioners convicted under section 237 or section 150 of the Criminal Code, and drop the current prosecutions under those sections."

Among the delegates who signed the appeal were: Rosemary Brown, B.C. MLA; Dennis Cocke, B.C. minister of Health; Yvonne Cocke, third vice-president, B.C. NDP; Melodie Corrigall, Chairwoman, B.C. NDP Women's Rights Committee; Colin Gableman, B.C. MLA; George Johnston, president, B.C. Federation of Labor; Stephen Lewis, leader of the Ontario NDP; Grace MacInnis, MP; and Eleanor Pelrine, author of Abortion in Canada.

The Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws staffed an information booth in the lobby outside the convention hall. Displayed there was a large banner reading "Defend Dr. Morgentaler — Drop the Charges!" Over 300 buttons with the same message were sold to delegates.

About 400 brochures explaining the Morgentaler case and over 300 copies of Spokeswomen, the newspaper of the Canadian Women's Coalition, were sold. At the beginning of the convention, every delegate was given a copy of a leaflet explaining the facts of the case, including the recent charges laid against Dr. Yvan Machabee, an associate of Dr. Morgentaler.

Material explaining the Tribunal on Abortion, a popular court to indict the real criminals, the government and all the other upholders of the present restrictive abortion law was also distributed. Forty-five delegates at the convention became endorsers of the Tribunal including a number of MPs, MLAs, lawyers, teachers, social workers, students, broadcasters; one NDP constituency organization and a women's theatre group.

The women's caucus at the convention adopted as one of its ongoing projects building the Morgentaler defense campaign across the country.

labor Challenge #84 Aug 1973

NDP convention

Left demands public ownership

VANCOUVER — The NDP leadership made the formulation of a "national energy policy" the centerpiece of its policy proposals to the convention. So the left correctly centered its projection of the socialist alternative around the energy debate. The result was a valuable confrontation between the party leadership's basic commitment to collaborating with private monopoly capital in a vital sphere of economic development, and the socialist approach based on public ownership of key industries and the creation of a planned non-capitalist economy.

The leadership's energy policy, introduced only on the fourth and last day of the convention, called for all energy resources (not industries) to be brought under "public control" through such measures as the establishment of a government-owned Canadian Petroleum Corporation which would undertake exploration, development, processing and marketing of oil and gas resources while allowing the giant "multinational" oil and gas oligopolies to continue to exploit Canadian labor and resources. It projected creation of a "national energy planning board" to replace the present National Energy Board, "federal ownership" of all interprovincial and international pipelines, postponement of construction of the Mackenzie Valley pipeline with future construction to be permitted only if environmental damage could be avoided and native rights and claims safeguarded.

In a leaflet distributed to delegates entitled "For Public Ownership of the Energy Resource Industries," the left attacked this resolution. "While paying lip service to the abstract principle of public ownership, (it) skirts the most burning and decisive aspect of this question — ownership of the existing resource industry. Merely setting up more regulatory bodies such as resource planning and marketing boards, albeit these are necessary tools of a socialist government, is in no way sufficient."

"Only public ownership of the energy resource industry can overcome the danger of monopoly prices and pollution and guarantee the rational development of resources and the rights of native people," the leaflet urged. "Nor is public ownership limited to pipelines an adequate solution, since it would in effect reduce the people of Canada to assuming the functions of a bucket brigade for the conveyance of still privately-owned energy and make us assume the costs and risks incurred in new plant construction, as well as maintenance of often hazardous distribution networks without access to the corporate concentrations of wealth."

This leaflet was signed by an initial list of almost 30 delegates and subsequently was endorsed by many more.

To make clear that public ownership was the major point of difference between left and right on this question, the left confined its attack to a clause in the leadership's resolution providing that the activities of the proposed Canadian Petroleum Corporation would include "acquisition of existing producing and processing facilities to the extent necessary to achieve control over prices and supply. Canadian consumers must be protected against unwarranted price increases by multinational corporations."

Opening the debate for the left, Patrick O'Connor (Winnipeg South) moved to change this clause to read: "nationalization of existing producing and processing facilities and supplies, to achieve control over prices and supply . . ."

These resources belong to the Canadian people," he stated, "and we should be fighting to get control over them. There can be no control without ownership. We wish to own our resources, not just 'control' them."

Supporting the amendment, Hilda Thomas (Vancouver Quadra) lashed out at the leadership's claim that the public is "not ready" for public ownership. The NDP was trailing public opinion, not leading it, she said. And any other solution to public ownership is only partial and completely inadequate. Today the NDP was for public ownership of the railways. "I have the feeling that if the NDP had been around in the nineteenth century when the great railway ripoffs were taking place, we would have been arguing about public ownership of the water-wheel."

Also supporting the amendment was John Richards, Saskatchewan MLA and Waffle leader, who stated that "the NDP should stand for complete public ownership of the oil

→p.2

photo by Werner Steinmetz

PATRICK O'CONNOR, Winnipeg delegate proposes amendment for nationalization of resource industries. Former federal leader T.C. Douglas (left) waits turn to speak.

photo by Werner Steinmetz

JOHN RICHARDS, Saskatchewan MLA and Waffle leader attacked NDP leadership's resolution on energy.

INFLUENCE PEDDLARS?

Among the sexist magazines and pencils, pads and other advertising paraphenalia included in delegates' kits were souvenirs from a dozen large corporations, including B.C. Telephone, the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, the Imperial Tobacco Co. and Canadian Pacific Airlines.

Coincidence?

The B.C. NDP government has promised to nationalize B.C. Telephone. The previous Socred government had banned all tobacco advertising. The convention voted for nationalization CP Air. And several resolutions submitted to the convention called for nationalization of the chartered banks.

and gas industry." The leadership's resolution was "a masterpiece of ambiguity," he said. "We should say it clearly — we need to take control of resources away from private corporations."

The right wing hauled out its big guns to defend its resolution and beat back the left's challenge. Their arguments were as weak as their case. Research director Marion Bryden argued that nationalization "would cost too much" — some $16 billion by her estimate.

But of course a socialist government prepared to nationalize the resources industry would not begin by publicly committing itself to pay off the corporations which have plundered resources and labor for years and even decades. And if some compensation were agreed on because of the international relationship of forces or other considerations, a high figure like $16 billion (one-sixth the gross national product) would not be the government's starting point in negotiations. Bryden's argument was simply designed to obscure the leadership's refusal even to consider expropriation of the giant oil and gas monopolies.

Max Saltsman, the NDP's financial critic in parliament, tried to invoke the ridiculous argument that nationalization is "old-fashioned." "We must go beyond the question of public ownership and into the question of public control," he claimed. How the corporations were to be controlled without nationalization — the whole point of the O'Connor amendment — he did not explain. Saltsman went on to ridicule the whole idea of public ownership with the sterile non-argument that it would "destroy (the party's) credibility."

It was left to former federal leader T.C. Douglas, winding up the debate for the leadership, to use the most demagogic argument. He was all for "public and cooperative ownership of the resources of this country," Douglas stated to rounds of applause. But there was the "problem of what mechanism to use." Nationalization was "too difficult." "We have to deal with the reality of the constitution we live under" — and resources, under the British North America Act, are a "provincial responsibility."

"Let's not talk of nationalization at one stroke," Douglas pleaded. In most cases, "if you own 40 percent, you control the operation." (This is precisely the federal government's argument in the case of Panarctic Limited, which even the NDP leadership wants to place under full government ownership. (Panarctic is a government-industry consortium of over a dozen oil companies in which Ottawa holds a 40 percent share.)

Douglas's reference to constitutional limitations was likewise a smokescreen. How could a socialist government limit itself to working within the confines of a constitution whose very purpose is to preserve capitalist institutions and property rights? Would an NDP government simply tell the Quebecois, for example, that they must limit their demands to what is acceptable within the bounds of the present constitution — when their struggle aims at changing that constitutional framework? Among the first acts of an NDP government committed to fundamental social change would be a challenge to existing constitutional limitations.

As for Douglas's argument that the leadership's resolution already implied support for ultimate public ownership of resources, this was effectively exposed when Don Boyle (Laval) moved to amend the resolution to explicitly affirm the NDP's support of the "principle" of public ownership of all resources. Chairman Gordon Vichert ruled the proposed amendment out of order on the curious grounds that defeat of the amendment might imply the party was against ultimate public ownership, "which would be untenable." In other words, the leadership deliberately intended that the resolution's position on this question of principle be left ambiguous.

The public ownership amendment was defeated. But about 20 percent of the delegates voted in support of it. It was one of the few moments in the convention when delegates were given an opportunity to express themselves on a clearly-defined issue deviding the left from the right wing of the party.

Vancouver civic NDP protests invitation to mayor

The growing trend toward NDP involvement in civic politics on the party label was reflected at the convention when the Vancouver Area Council of the party challenged the invitation of Vancouver's Mayor Phillips to give an address of welcome to the delegates.

In a letter to federal NDP secretary Clifford Scotton, VAC president and former NDP mayoralty candidate Brian Campbell noted that Phillips is "leader of the TEAM political party . . . that opposes the NDP in Vancouver civic politics."

"This invitation," Campbell stated, "shows a gross insensitivity to the political situation of the NDP in Vancouver. It also reinforces a prevalent but fortunately disappearing myth that municipal politics are somehow nonpartisan. It is inconceivable that the federal NDP would invite the Premier, if a member of another political party, to address our convention as a representative of the provincial government. We would naturally invite the leader of the provincial NDP involved."

In a statement distributed to delegates, the VAC noted that "politics is basically the same at the municipal level and party affiliation although generally hidden is simply an extension of federal and provincial party affiliations. The present mayor of Vancouver is the leader of a civic political party that is basically LIBERAL and which many people view as the base for an eventual Liberal attempt at provincial control." The statement called on the NDP "to stop thinking of party politics as somehow trivial and local politicians as amateur and start talking about how to reinforce the NDP presence in the cities . . ."

The federal council refused to accede to the VAC's request that the invitation to Phillips be withdrawn, but voted that in future such messages of welcome "be made by the senior NDP official" of the city concerned.

labor Challenge
#84 Aug 1973

NDP convention

'Delegates for socialist policies'

VANCOUVER — "David Lewis tried very hard to kill the Waffle — and he got a lot of help from Jim Laxer and Mel Watkins, when they pulled out of the NDP. In Manitoba, where I'm from, about half the Waffle supporters left the party. But here we are tonight — a whole roomful of left-wingers. So I'm optimistic concerning the possibilities of building a left wing in the NDP."

These remarks by a youthful delegate Patrick O'Connor of Winnipeg, expressed the prevailing mood at the first caucus meeting of the socialist delegates during the convention. This was the first federal convention since the defeat and defection of the Waffle forces who had organized at the two previous conventions. Most delegates present seemed to feel that the mere fact supporters of the socialist alternative were still "alive and kicking" in the party, as one delegate put it, was a considerable achievement in itself.

Toronto Rosedale delegate Liz Barkley, an initiator of the left-wing caucus formation, outlined the challenge facing socialists at the convention, in her opening remarks to the meeting.

"The Lewis leadership wants to avoid discussion of 'controversial' and 'radical' issues — like women's rights, public ownership, a firm stand against restrictions on labor and trade union rights, radical measures to fight inflation and unemployment, self-determination for Quebec, and an anti-imperialist international policy," she declared. "If we want these issues to be debated, and a left alternative to be put forward, we'll have to organize on the convention floor."

Barkley, together with fellow Toronto delegate Hans Modlich (Broadview) and Burnaby-Seymour delegate Joyce Meissenheimer, a member of the B.C. NDP provincial executive, had signed a call distributed to delegates as the convention opened. Entitled "Fight for Socialist Policies at the NDP Convention," the call outlined the need for socialist policies, noted the party leadership's failure to pose such policies, and argued that socialists in the party must organize to fight for them. "This convention must signal a turn in the direction of the NDP — away from obsession with parliamentary maneuvering, toward active participation in and leadership of the extraparliamentary mass movement around a program of far-reaching measures that strengthen the independent power of the working people and undermine the power of the big corporations," the appeal stated.

photo by Werner Steinmetz

DELEGATES FOR SOCIALIST POLICIES caucus drew about 100 delegates to each of two meetings during convention. Above, Toronto delegate Liz Barkley speaks to caucus meeting.

The initial call was signed by over 40 delegates, including three members of the B.C. NDP provincial executive, and several members of the B.C. NDP women's committee. They were delegates from constituencies in Vancouver, Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Nanaimo, Kamloops, Kitchener and St. Catharines.

Many of the caucus participants had been active at some time in the Waffle. Some were in the remnants of the party's youth organization, the Young New Democrats, which still retain a minimal presence in British Columbia. Most were young people, in their 20s or 30s. The majority were activists from the antiwar, student, environmentalist, and women's liberation movements — especially the latter.

The caucus held two large meetings, each attended by over 100 persons, as well as several brief strategy meetings on the floor of the convention. Meetings were anounced by the convention chairperson as part of the normal proceedings of the convention.

Discussion at the first caucus meeting, held at the conclusion of the first day of the convention, ranged far and wide over the perspectives for the left. Intimidated by the relatively small number of left-wing delegates compared with previous conventions, when the Waffle was present — the hard-core voting strength of the left at the convention varied between 10 and 20 percent on policy resolutions — some delegates argued that the left should keep a "low profile" around what was termed a "defensive" strategy. Others argued for a more aggressive approach of hitting the microphones on all key questions before the convention, no matter what he chances of victory or defeat. There was a general agreement, however, that the caucus should single out a few key issues around

→P3

labor Challenge #84

Editorial

Restlessness in party shown at convention

p. 2

by THE EDITORS

Summing up the leadership's view of the convention in a windup speech to delegates, federal NDP leader David Lewis indulged in a little self-congratulation. "We have," he said, "avoided the doctrinaire albatrosses which we have occasionally put in our way in the past." And, indeed, the pablum served up as policy at this convention did not commit the leadership or the party to anything much of significance.

But there was, Lewis acknowledged, "a great deal of restlessness" in the party. There was the dynamic women's caucus that had flogged the NDP's failure to implement convention resolutions on women's rights and argued so strongly that the party should do much more in the future. And, despite the defection of the "Waffle," there was still a small but active caucus of left delegates who promised to continue to organize within the party to fight for socialist policies.

A major part of this left's dynamic resulted from its links to the women's caucus, in which socialist delegates played the key role. This caucus, composed entirely of women, reflected and expressed the radical thrust of the feminist movement and its powerful impact on Canada's labor party.

The women's caucus avoided an error of such formations at some previous conventions. In 1971, for example, Waffle women in the leadership of the women's caucus had tended to confine it to "socialist" women, limiting its impact on the party as a whole, and cutting it off from many women prepared to fight for women's rights but not yet won to the socialist viewpoint. This time was different. The women's caucus at the Vancouver convention cut across the traditional left-right divisions in the party. Indeed, its all-embracing nature was its strength — because the caucus was directly part of a major cutting edge of the current radicalization, the powerful and growing struggle for the emancipation of women.

In previous conventions, the feminists had concentrated their strategy on demands for "parity" of representation in official bodies of the party. This caucus, while by no means rejecting parity, went far beyond that demand to address itself to how the party should be intervening in the feminist radicalization.

The caucus's intervention also reflected the fact that the feminist radicalization is still only in its early stages — while cutting wide and deep. Prominent NDP women who two years ago argued against feminist demands, this year took to the microphones to denounce the party's failure to give leadership to women's struggles.

The women's caucus was a big factor in reviving an organized left, feeding new forces into it, and fortifying the overall challenge to the NDP leadership's liberal-reformist politics.

As for the socialist policies caucus that formed in this convention — while small, it too showed considerable promise. It comprised activists from the major areas of the radicalization; besides the women's movement, from the antiwar movement, environmentalists, students, etc. They are rooted in the NDP, many with long records of struggle for the socialist alternative in the party.

Unlike the former Waffle caucus, this left was not constituted around some illusory nationalist struggle for an "independent" Canada, but on the basis of active struggle to take the major issues and demands of the radicalization and the class struggle into the NDP. In the energy debate — around an issue now being fetishized by nationalists — the left at this convention seized on the opportunity posed by the widespread public concern about use of resources to popularize the socialist alternative of nationalization, without falling into the trap of arguing on nationalist grounds.

The Lewis leadership demonstrated throughout the convention that they are hostile to the radicalization and incapable of leading it forward. Typical was federal president Macdonald's proud report that in Quebec "the difficulties" of "reconciling the nationalist thrust of the Quebecois with (the NDP's) commitment to a federal party"

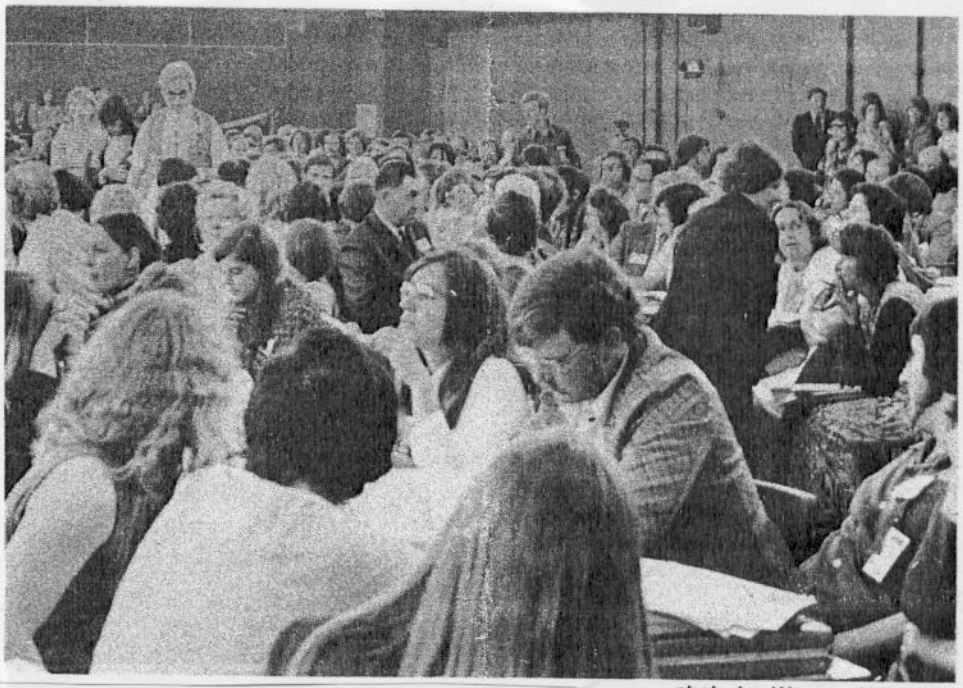


photo by Werner Steinmetz

→p. 3

from p.1

which to center the battle for socialist policies.

What really brought the caucus meeting to life, however, was Joyce Meissenheimer's report from the women's caucus. Many women came directly from the women's caucus meeting to the socialist policies caucus. The caucus agreed unanimously to endorse and support the women's caucus demands, including the organization of a cross-country conference of NDP women, and all-out support by the NDP for the Morgentaler defense case, and opposition to the restrictive abortion laws.

The other major question the left mobilized around was the debate on energy resources. Delegates agreed to formulate an amendment to the leadership's proposed resolution, that would center on the need for public ownership of energy resources industries. A subcommittee of the caucus led by Hans Moldich, Patrick O'Connor, and Ron Anderson drafted the amendment, based on resolutions submitted by many constituency associations.

An educational debate on left strategy was sparked in the caucus when delegate Bob Woodworth of Peterborough proposed that the words "without compensation" be added to the caucus's call for nationalization of energy resource industries. Supporting his motion, Varda Kidd (Toronto Rosedale) argued that the NDP has stood for "public ownership" for years, that the debate in the party has always centered on whether the capitalists should be compensated. To compensate or not to compensate, she stated, is the watershed between socialists and liberal-reformists in the party — "between socialist public ownership and capitalist public ownership."

The no-compensation proposal carried by a small majority at the first meeting of the caucus, but was reversed at a subsequent meeting. As delegate Craig MacKay (St. Catharines) pointed out, the NDP in fact has nowhere accepted public ownership as the fundamental solution to private monopoly control. "And if we center the attack around the question of compensation, we'll just be erecting an obstacle to delegates' acceptance of public ownership," he argued.

Joyce Meisenheimer argued along similar lines. Public ownership was the principled question, she pointed out, not compensation of the capitalists, which depended on the specific relationship of forces at the time of nationalization.

The caucus also agreed to a proposal by Joe Flexer (Toronto Parkdale) that it sponsor an emergency resolution in support of the railroad workers and against possible back-to-work legislation by parliament. Given their recent votes against longshoremen's strikes, Flexer rated, there was a real danger that the NDP parliamentary caucus might repeat its action of 1966 in voting support to such strikebreaking legislation against railroad workers. However, the emergency resolution was never debated on the convention floor. When Flexer asked on the final day what had happened to it, he was told by federal council member Charles Taylor that there "wasn't time" to report it to the convention.

At its first meeting the caucus named a seven-person steering committee to coordinate floor strategy and call subsequent meetings. At its second meeting the caucus voted to field a slate of 10 candidates for the party's federal council, in addition to supporting the four members of the women's caucus slate who solicited the support of the left-wing caucus. These delegates contested the elections under the title of "Delegates for Socialist Policies." Their votes ranged from a low of 101 to 243 for Varda Kidd, 235 for Hilda Thomas and 232 for Cynthia Flood. These votes compare with 463 for the lowest vote among those elected to the council, all on the "official" right-wing slate.

In a brief meeting at the conclusion of the convention, the socialist delegates agreed to continue to keep in touch. Correspondents were named from the various regions and cities across the country, and there is talk of beginning publication of a newsletter to maintain the links among the broad left wing forces established at this convention, in the coming period.

from p.2

had been resolved — but only through virtually destroying the Quebec NDP, saddling it with a pro-confederation platform. The 22-member Quebec delegation at this convention was the smallest yet, only a quarter of the 1971 representation.

This convention met 40 years to the day after the founding of Canada's first social-democratic party, the NDP's predecessor, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). Its accession to office in three provinces over the last four years marks the first major breakthrough in almost 30 years, since the CCF victory in Saskatchewan in 1944. But as the party assumes the reins of government, it hardens its face against the radicalization and the workers' movement. Still far from power at the federal level, the Lewis leadership behaves as if it were responsible for administering the capitalist system rather than replacing it.

The party is a contradictory phenomenon, however. As this convention indicated anew, the NDP's profound roots in the organizations and consciousness of the working class mean that it continues to be the arena for struggle between the reformist make-capitalism-work ideology of the labor bureaucracy, and class-struggle politics, whose most consistent expression is revolutionary socialism, advanced by the Trotskyists of the League for Socialist Action and Young Socialists.

The left in the NDP is presently small and largely disorganized. The desertion of the party by the Ontario Waffle leadership, who refused to stay and fight the purge launched by the NDP brass, and the virtual abandonment of the party by Waffle leaders in other parts of the country, dealt a severe blow to the party's left wing.

But the battles waged by feminists and left-wing delegates at this convention may well have reversed the dissipation of the last two years, and laid the basis for reconstituting an organized left wing in the NDP with cross-country connections in the coming period.

labor Challenge #84 Aug 1973

Amendments restrict internal democracy

VANCOUVER — Assured of a majority of delegates' votes on all key policy questions, the NDP federal leadership used this majority to push through a number of constitutional changes which restrict internal democracy and consolidate still further their bureaucratic hold on the internal structures of the NDP.

A major amendment to the party's constitution, passed by the convention, provides that a provincial section shall be fully autonomous "provided its constitution and principles are not in conflict with those of the federal party." If a dispute arises as to the good standing of a provincial party, the federal executive is "empowered to rule on whether an organization is or is not a provincial party, subject to appeal to the federal council." An amendment proposed by Douglas Campbell (St. Paul's) that a disenfranchised provincial section have the right of appeal to the federal convention, was defeated.

According to federal NDP treasurer Lorne Ingle, who introduced it, the motion was designed to deal with the kind of situation that arose in 1971 in New Brunswick, where as he described it, "a group of people whose principles were diametrically opposed to those of the NDP seized control of the party." Ingle did not mention that the adoption by the New Brunswick section of a radical anticapitalist manifesto and platform occurred in a democratic, duly-constituted convention of the provincial party.

A series of constitutional revisions had the effect of formally dissolving the federal party's youth organization, the New Democratic Youth. This was only a formality, since there is no functioning NDY outside B.C. and Saskatchewan, where the youth operate under provincial charters. The Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, a revolutionary socialist student organization, is today the only cross-country socialist youth group.

While provincial NDY groups may still exist, the convention voted that they may not have constitutions or programs that conflict with the federal party or the provincial party.

It remains to be seen if the remants of the NDY in the provinces go the way of the federal grouping. In any case, NDP leadership, through repeated expulsions and exclusions — most recently against youth in Ontario — have made clear that they are unfriendly to the revolutionary edge of the youth radicalization that has been a major phenomenon of recent years.

The NDP bureaucracy often stack conventions in their favor by handing out unfilled delegate creddentials to their hacks and hangers-on. Motions from Oshawa-Whitby constituency association were aimed at ending this practice by providing that delegates be members of the riding or affiliated organization they are representing. Despite the resolutions committee's non-concurrence, these motions passed, but did not receive the two-thirds majority to take effect as constitutional amendments.

A motion supported by the committee to limit ridings or affiliates to sponsoring two resolutions each at conventions was defeated. And a motion from the Victoria NDP urging an end to affiliated memberships — which, if adopted, would seriously undercut the NDP's links with the trade unions and its character as a labor party — was defeated with almost no debate. The convention voted to double the per capita dues from affiliated organizations such as trade unions to 10 cents per member per month.

At the same time, the convention adopted a motion from the Moose Jaw NDP that delegates to NDP conventions from affiliated organizations must be individual members of the party. This provision may well be used in future by the NDP brass to restrict attendance from class-struggle militants in the unions who have been barred from individual membership in the party. (D.F.)

Young Socialists fight to reverse exclusions

A leaflet protesting the exclusion of two members of the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes from the Ontario NDP was distributed to delegates at the NDP convention. One hundred signatures were collected on an accompanying petition demanding that the two YS members be reinstated.

Cliff Mack and Alice Klein each received letters dated June 18 from Ontario NDP provincial secretary, Gordon Vichert informing them that their applicatons for membership in the party had been refused. Both the Young Socialists are longtime activists in the student and antiwar movements and former members of the NDP.

"Grounds" for the exclusion, according to Vichert, are the two activists' membership in the Young Socialists — a revolutionary socialist youth organization which supports the NDP. However, it is clear that the real motive for the provincial executive's move is their effort to exlucde socialist ideas from the party.

labor Challenge #84 Aug 1973

Selling the socialist press

The NDP represents labor political action, independent of big business in this country. Yet the parliamentry clique and labor bureaucrats who run the party have failed to recognize the necessity that labor have its own press, independent of the big business monopoly media. While they rely on such house organs as the Commonwealth and the New Democrat (together with politically-vacuous handouts prepared by some slick capitalist advertising outfit at election time), Labor Challenge has long been an advocate of a labor-financed daily.

So far as the NDP leadership is concerned, Labor Challenge and the views it represents are an anathema. Whenever the bureaucrats who run the party have betrayed the interests of working people, Labor Challenge has done its best to expose them, and to help the party's rank-and-file organize the fight for socialist policies.

The entire 1973 federal NDP convention was designed to give maximum exposure to the views of the NDP leadership, as expressed by the three NDP premiers and by federal leader David Lewis. However a well-organized team of salespersons working out of the Student Union Building on the convention site made sure that the socialist view was circulated far-and-wide to convention delegates and observers.

Labor Challenge sales were brisk, with 380 single copies sold over the four-day period. Supporters of Young Socialist, the socialist student monthly, tell us that 170 copies of their summer issue, featuring an expose of Canada's political police, the RCMP, were sold to convention delegates.

The NDP convention provided an exceptional opportunity for sales of the socialist press. But there are working people everywhere who are interested in the socialist view on the issues of the day. When David Lewis goes back to his office on Parliament Hill, Labor Challenge salespersons will be on the streets and outside the plant gates spreading the socialist word.

If you would like to help in our sales efforts write us, and we'll start sending you a regular bundle of papers. If you're a new reader of Labor Challenge, by all means subscribe now. There's no better way of finding out what's happening in the worker's movement, and all the movements for social change in Canada, and internationally.

Don't miss an issue

Subscribe now

clip and mail to **LABOR CHALLENGE, Box 5595, Station A, Toronto 1, Ontario**

()Enclosed is $4.00 for one year (24 issues)
()Enclosed is $1.00 for an introductory subscription (6 issues)
This is a ()new subscription ()renewal

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ **Zone** ____ **Prov.** ____

Labor Challenge #84 Aug. 1973

Vancouver students press bill of rights

by STUART RUSSELL

VANCOUVER — High school students here have launched a major campaign for their rights. On July 16, a general meeting of the 115-member Greater Vancouver Student Union (GVSU) adopted a far-reaching "Manifesto of Student Rights," aimed at educating students and mobilizing them in action.

Included in the manifesto are demands for freedom of speech and the student press, freedom of assembly, the right to free student elections, non-compulsory attendance, student control of discipline and collective bargaining. The demands challenge the undemocratic nature of the school system, making human rights "the primary consideration of all public school policies and programs."

The manifesto answers a definitive yes to student-teacher control of the schools. It calls for 60 percent student representation "on a permanent school administrative body composed of students, teachers and members of the community (parents and taxpayers), which directs the administrative function of the school, its policies and programs. The student representation shall constitute 60 percent of the voting members of the body . . . "

This concept was sharply opposed by two prominent "education reformers" present at the meeting — the NDP government's education commissioner John Bremer, and the recently-ousted principal of Campbell River Junior Secondary School, John Young. Young argued that the provision went too far, that it would not be supported by most students, and "one cannot ignore the views of society."

Bremer and Young spoke in general terms of the need for high school students to organize. But when it came to the question of control, both were crystal clear. When the question was posed, they quickly stepped into line and resolutely boomed: "Not the students!"

But the students rejected this advice, unanimously adopted the manifesto and set out to convince the majority of students to support it. The method of organizing was outlined in a resolution which called for "mobilizing the largest number of high schoolers in mass action, and independent of the control and influence of the school authorities or education hierarchy."

Another resolution adopted by the GVSU condemned the action of the French government in banning the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth International, and demanded that Pompidou immediately rescind the ban. The students linked the right of the Ligue to exist with the right of high schoolers to organize politically.

In addition, the GVSU endorsed the strike by workers at Shoppers Drug Mart, and urged students to boycott the stores.

The alarmed response of the school authorities to the far-reaching demands of the GVSU produced significant initiatives in attempting to diffuse the struggle and co-opt its leadership. Commissioner Bremer struck off a "task force," which is to spend the summer studying the creation of a province-wide organization of high school students. At the same time the Vancouver School Board decided to grant the GVSU $1,000 to "investigate ways to obtain student involvement in the drafting of education policies." These moves are clearly designed to tone down the militancy of the leaders of the high school student movement, and divert their energies away from mobilizing students.

The GVSU should reject the attempts to co-opt its struggle by pressing forward its demands on the school board and the NDP government in Victoria. The summer period should be used to involve students in building for mass actions in the fall.

Editorial

labor Challenge

Who killed Laporte?

The so-called "FLQ crisis" of October 1970 is back in the headlines again — with all the makings of a Canadian Watergate. We not only have the telling exposures of Pierre Laporte's connections with the underworld that raise doubts about the fast-moving events of October leading to War Measures and the army occupation of Montreal. Now we have revelations from friends of the dead Quebec labor minister which affirm that police authorities could have prevented his murder, but acting on orders from the provincial cabinet level, they ignored information which would have led them to Laporte. Laporte's friends, who have waited more than two years to come forward with their information, are demanding an "explanation" from federal and provincial authorities.

Much more than an explanation is required. A full scale public investigation is necessary. All documents relating to the October crisis must be made public.

When Trudeau, Bourassa and Drapeau came down with their infamous War Measures, Labor Challenge responded immediately by denouncing the government's intentions. We stated that the government was deliberately using the kidnappings to whip up a frenzied hysteria campaign across Canada as a cover for widespread repressive measures. Using their special powers, police carried out 5,000 raids, arrested 464 people — later releasing 403 without charges. Some of those charged are still before the courts as government prosecutors try to make their flimsy cases stand up.

It is federal, provincial and police authorities who are placed on trial by these latest revelations. Did they deliberately let Laporte's murder take place to create even greater chauvinist hysteria across the country? The Canadian — and above all the Quebecois — people have a right to fully scrutinize, through public hearings, the whole, sordid affair. We need to know not only what was behind the October crisis, but who.

Free Robert Lemieux !

In case anyone harbors any doubts that the repressive forces in Canada have not given up their determination to intimidate and persecute their opponents in Quebec, Mr. Justice Mathieu has given us an important reminder. On July 17 he sentenced lawyer Robert Lemieux, defender of many of those arrested in October 1970, to two-and-one-half years in prison for contempt of court.

This is clearly a vindictive and punitive act of revenge against Lemieux for his many labors in defense of the rights of victims of repression in Quebec.

Forty-six Montreal lawyers have sent Lemieux a letter of solidarity, stating "We must tell you we not only feel threatened by the abuses that have been committed, but also feel co-accused with you."

All defenders of democratic and civil rights stand co-accused with Robert Lemieux.

The labor and socialist movements across Canada, the NDP, civil liberties groups, lawyers' groups, etc., must come to Lemieux's defense. We demand that this outrageous sentence be revoked and the contempt charges dropped.

Police ally with fascists

After the holocaust of World War II, most people know that fascists are antilabor, racist thugs. Not so many understand, however, that fascists are almost always protected by the police — even in a supposedly democratic country like Canada. On Sunday, July 29, about 300 residents of an east-end Toronto working class neighbourhood watched in amazement as members of a fascist gang, the Western Guard, attacked about 20 demonstrators — members of a Maoist group called the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist). To their even greater amazement, the Toronto cops joined the attack, arresting eight Maoists and only one fascist.

Later in the day a demonstration of about 100, organized by a number of left groups in Toronto picketed outside the Guard headquarters to protest the fascists' celebration of Mussolini's birthday. Dozens of cops, many with badges removed, protected the fascists while they strutted about with clubs and broken beer bottles, yelling "Juden Raus" (Jews Get Out) and threatening the anti-fascist demonstrators.

While still small in number, the Western Guard has proved it can be dangerous. For some time, it (and its predecessor, the Edmund Burke Society) has been attacking demonstrations, meetings and left-wing headquarters almost with impunity. In recent months, the headquarters of Black and gay groups have been attacked with shotgun blasts and firebombs, apparently by Western Guard members.

Why do the police not arrest the criminals who commit such attacks? Why are they not charged, tried and sentenced? It is particularly incumbent upon the so-called reform members of Toronto City Council, including a number of NDP members, to raise these questions publicly and press for an end to police protection of these fascist thugs.